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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this Commission on Civil Rights report is to: (1) provide policymakers and the general public with greater insight into the unique history of mainland Puerto Ricans, and the continuing grave difficulties that afflict a large sector of the community; (2) provide useful source material for further research; and (3) recommend government action to address the special needs of mainland Puerto Ricans. The facts contained in this report confirm that Puerto Ricans comprise a distinct ethnic group. This report also documents uses of specific government laws and programs that are designed to assist Puerto Ricans and other minority groups, and yet have fallen far short of their mandated goals. The data in this report stem from several sources: the Commission hearings on Puerto Ricans conducted in New York City in February 1972; a series of regional studies and open meetings conducted between 1971 and 1976 by the Commission's State Advisory Committees in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Illinois, and Connecticut; research and personal interviews conducted by Commission staff; data developed by the U. S. Bureau of the Census, the U. S. Department of Labor, and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico; and a number of other studies by various scholars, organizations, and government agencies.
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PUERTO RICANS IN THE CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES: *AN UNCERTAIN FUTURE*

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

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A report of the
United States Commission on Civil Rights

October 1976

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

U S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON, D. C.
OCTOBER 1976

THE PRESIDENT
THE PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE
THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Sirs:

The Commission on Civil Rights presents this report to you pursuant to Public Law 85 – 315, as amended.

This report looks at the Puerto Rican community in the continental United States in order to identify its relevant social and economic characteristics and those issues of primary concern to this group. Special attention is given to the employment and educational characteristics of Puerto Ricans residing on the U.S. mainland and whether government at all levels has addressed their needs.

There are 1.7 million Puerto Ricans residing in the mainland United States. They are found in every State of the Union. As U.S. citizens, they migrate to the mainland from Puerto Rico in search of better job opportunities and a better education for their children. Once they arrive, the vast majority are relegated to a dismal existence in the urban ghetto. Puerto Ricans on the mainland have one of the highest unemployment and underemployment rates in those area where they reside; they have a high proportion of families living at the poverty level; and they have the highest school dropout rate in their communities. They also represent a growing segment of our language-minority citizens whose special needs for meaningful job training programs and bilingual-bicultural education have not been adequately addressed by the Federal, State, and local governments. Contrary to earlier assumptions, our study shows that for the vast majority of Puerto Ricans living in the cities of the East and Midwest, their successful entry into the mainstream of American society is still most uncertain.

Puerto Ricans ask that they be given an opportunity to participate on an equal footing with their fellow citizens of the fruits and benefits of our

society. It is incumbent upon government at all levels to guarantee that their rights are not denied and that their special language needs are taken into consideration.

We urge your consideration of the information, findings, and recommendations presented here.

Respectfully,

Arthur S. Flemming, *Chairman*
Stephen Horn, *Vice Chairman*
Frankie M. Freeman
Manuel Ruiz, Jr.
Murray Saltzman

John A. Buggs, *Staff Director*

U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

The United States Commission on Civil Rights is a temporary, independent, bipartisan agency established by the Congress in 1957 to:

- Investigate complaints alleging denial of the right to vote by reason of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, or by reason of fraudulent practices;
- Study and collect information concerning legal developments constituting a denial of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, or in the administration of justice;
- Appraise Federal laws and policies with respect to the denial of equal protection of the laws because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, or in the administration of justice;
- Serve as a national clearinghouse for information concerning denials of equal protection of the laws because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin; and
- Submit reports, finding, and recommendations to the President and Congress.

MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION

Arthur S. Flemming, *Chairman*
Stephen Horn, *Vice Chairman*
Frankie M. Freeman
Manuel Ruiz, Jr.
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John A. Buggs, *Staff Director*

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This final report of the Commission's Puerto Rican Project was supervised by Louis Nunez, Deputy Staff Director.

Preface

The data in this report stem from several sources: the Commission hearings on Puerto Ricans conducted in New York City in February 1972; from a series of regional studies and open meetings conducted between 1971 and 1976 by the Commission's State Advisory Committees in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Illinois, and Connecticut; research and personal interviews conducted by Commission staff; data developed by the U.S. Bureau of the Census, the U.S. Department of Labor, and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico; and a number of other studies by various scholars, organizations, and government agencies.[1]

In the compilation of this report, one fact became glaringly evident. Government agencies (municipal, State, and Federal) have failed to document adequately the socioeconomic status of mainland Puerto Ricans. Federally-funded programs for specific geographic areas are frequently allocated according to population size; an admitted U.S. Bureau of the Census undercount of Puerto Ricans and other minority groups has deprived these communities of the urgently needed funding to which they are entitled.[2] Furthermore, data vitally needed by policymakers to document the level of need are simply not available. Statistical mechanisms that chart progress (or lack of it) in such key areas as employment, income, housing, and education are inadequate. Also neglected has been the study of migration between Puerto Rico and the U.S. mainland, as well as the movement of Puerto Ricans within the borders of the U.S. mainland.

This valid complaint about inadequate data does not erase the fact that Puerto Ricans "have been studied to death"—not by policymakers, but by social scientists. There is abundant documentation of the high incidence of poverty, unemployment, and underemployment of mainland Puerto Ricans. Indeed, the study of such so-called "problem groups" as Puerto Ricans almost amounts to an industry within the social sciences. There is no need for further study to prove that Puerto Rican problems merit special attention, even though the full extent of their problems are inadequately documented. Lack of data is no longer a valid excuse for government inaction.

However, many of the previous studies were unique, one-time efforts, with no followthrough. Other ongoing projects are superficial or inconsistent in their criteria. Still lacking are uniform, year-to-year methods of tracking the socioeconomic status of mainland Puerto Ricans; without such data it is virtually impossible to tell whether current and

potential government programs are yielding desired results, and whether or not civil rights laws pertaining to equal opportunity are being complied with.

At present, the primary source of data on mainland Puerto Ricans are the special reports published by the U.S. Bureau of the Census, following the 1950, 1960, and 1970 censuses.[3] While each successive volume has grown thicker, and more detailed, criteria have often changed, making comparisons by decade quite difficult. For example, data on Puerto Rican "origin" (where each person identifies his or her ethnic origin, regardless of generation) were obtained for the first time in the 1970 census. The previous reports (1950 and 1960) provide statistical data on persons of Puerto Rican "birth or parentage," those born in Puerto Rico or those with one or both parents born in Puerto Rico.

In the past few years, the Bureau of the Census has issued pamphlets offering data on "Persons of Spanish Origin," reflecting the situation in March of each year.[4] These data are skimpy in comparison with the voluminous annual report now being published on black Americans.[5] Based on very limited population samples, the annual current population surveys of "Persons of Spanish Origin" contain data whose usefulness is highly questionable. For example, a report reflecting the situation in March 1975 states that 9 percent of employed Puerto Rican males hold white-collar jobs in the "professional or technical" category.[6] Just 12 months previous, a similar report stated that 4.5 percent of employed Puerto Rican males held "professional or technical" jobs.[7]

Were one to accept this data, there would be cause for jubilation: It would appear that Puerto Rican workers had made a substantial qualitative improvement in their status. However, such a change in a 1-year period (during a time of economic recession and job layoffs) seems, on the basis of common sense judgment, to be unlikely. One is forced to conclude that the population sample and/or the data-gathering methods of the Bureau of the Census are seriously flawed. If the information supplied by the largest data-gathering system in the United States (perhaps the world) is subject to doubt, its methods of gathering data should be reevaluated.

Despite the apparent shortcomings of the data provided by the U.S. Bureau of the Census, it is the only agency in the far-flung Federal Government that provides systematic (hence useful) data on mainland Puerto Ricans. Perhaps the only other agency is the U.S. Department of Labor, whose New York Regional Office has published periodic reports on Puerto Ricans, mainly those who reside in New York City and in certain poverty areas of the city.[8] Lamentably, when one searches for data in other key areas (health, education, welfare, criminal justice, to name a

few) they are not to be found. In the few cases where data are gathered, they are frequently done so under the category of "Spanish-Surnamed American," thus lumping together groups of persons in widely differing situations.

Notes to Preface

1. See Bibliography for publications that will be useful for further research. To avoid needless duplication of data that are easily available in other published sources, this report summarizes such background data, and focuses more extensively upon issues of civil rights and government compliance or noncompliance with existing laws.

2. U.S., Commission on Civil Rights, *To Know or Not to Know: Collection and Use of Racial and Ethnic Data* (1973) and *Counting the Forgotten: The 1970 Census Count of Persons of Spanish Speaking Background in the United States* (1974).

3. U.S., Bureau of the Census, Census of Population, Special Reports, *Puerto Ricans in the United States*:
   1950 Census, P – E No. 3D, April 1955.
   1960 Census, PC(2) – 1D, July 1963.
   1970 Census, PC(2) – 1E, June 1973.

4. The most recent of this series is *Persons of Spanish Origin in the United States*: March 1975, Series P – 20, No. 283 (August 1975), 8 pp. (hereafter this series will be cited as *Persons of Spanish Origin* (month/year)).

5. The most recent is *Social and Economic Status of the Black Population in the United States, 1974*, Series P – 23, No. 54 (July 1975), 195 pp.

6. *Persons of Spanish Origin* (March 1975), Table 5, p. 7.

7. *Persons of Spanish Origin* (March 1974), Table 6, p. 5.

8. Its most recent effort is *A Socio-Economic Profile of Puerto Rican New Yorkers*, Regional Report No. 46 (July 1975). Even this excellent study is hampered by lack of data, as evidenced by a comment (p.6) that "this report interprets existing knowledge about Puerto Ricans ... raising as many if not more questions than it answers.... Census data based on broad population averages leaves unanswered a number of questions for which additional research is required." Unfortunately, says the report (p. 7), "we do not have a continuing series of socio-economic data providing employment and income information on the New York population as part of a system that permits comparisons to be made with the Nation as well as over time. The priority implications for further research are clear."

Introduction

One of every twenty persons in the United States today is a Hispanic American.

Mexican Americans are the largest single Hispanic group, with 6.7 million persons.

Next largest is the Puerto Rican community. Nearly 1.7 million persons of Puerto Rican birth or parentage live on the United States mainland. If we add to this the 3.1 million residents of the island Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, we find that the number of U.S. citizens of Puerto Rican birth or descent is fast approaching the 5 million mark (see Table 1).[1]

This report focuses upon the U.S. mainland Puerto Rican population, which achieved significant size after the Second World War and whose incidence of poverty and unemployment is more severe than that of virtually any ethnic group in the United States.[2]

Puerto Ricans share the major concerns and problems of all their fellow Americans, particularly those who reside in urban areas, and specifically those whose language, culture, and/or skin color has caused them to be victims of discrimination.

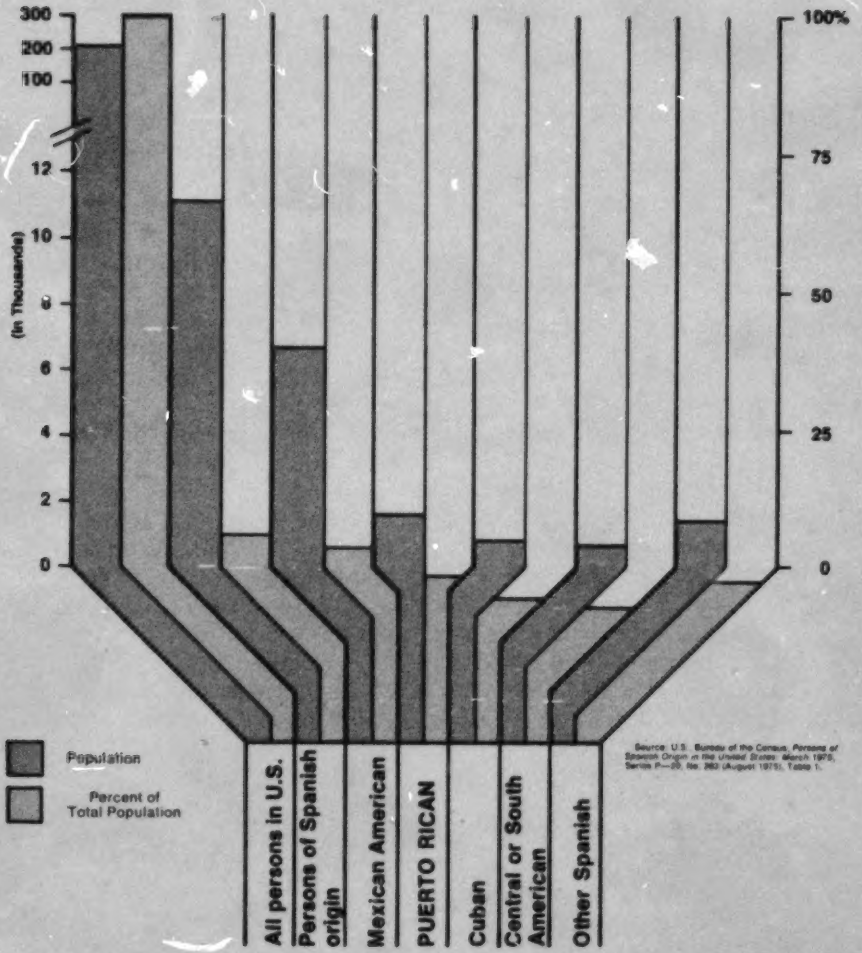
However, the facts contained in this report (even, indeed, the very existence of this report) confirm that Puerto Ricans comprise a distinct ethnic group, with concerns and priorities that frequently differ from those of other minorities, even other Spanish heritage groups. (It is often overlooked, for example, that although Puerto Ricans, Cubans, Mexicans, and Dominicans share a common linguistic and cultural heritage, differences among them are as distinct as those among Americans, Australians, British, and other English-speaking peoples.)

Puerto Ricans represent less than 1 percent of the continental United States population. But in New York City, 10 percent of the residents (and 23 percent of the school children) are Puerto Rican.[3] Just across the Hudson River, in Hoboken, almost one-fourth of the population is Puerto Rican.[4] Major cities such as Chicago, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Newark, Hartford, and Boston also have large Puerto Rican communities.[5] In short, the quality of life achieved by Puerto Ricans is inextricably linked with the quality of life in many of America's key urban centers.

During the 1960s—the period of the "War on Poverty"—an unprecedented number of laws and special programs were enacted, whose aim was to improve the socioeconomic position of this nation's impoverished minorities. The facts, as documented in this report, show

Table 1

Total U.S. Population and Persons of Spanish Origin



that Puerto Ricans have benefited very little from these programs and, that in some respects, their lot has deteriorated.

Not long ago, Representative Herman Badillo (the only mainland Puerto Rican who has won an elected seat in Congress) reminisced about his first few weeks in public office:

> I came to Washington brimming with ideas; I knew all about the problems that afflicted my people, and I had made up a lengthy list of proposed laws that would remedy the situation. Then, to my surprise, I slowly came to find out that most of the necessary laws were already on the books. Trouble is, they weren't being implemented!*

This report will also document cases of specific government laws and programs that are designed to assist Puerto Ricans and other minority groups, yet have fallen far short of their mandated goals.

With the exception of statistical surveys by the U.S. Bureau of the Census, this is the first report by a Federal Government agency that focuses upon the entire population of mainland Puerto Ricans. The purpose of this report is to:

1. Provide policymakers and the general public with greater insight into the unique history of mainland Puerto Ricans and the continuing grave difficulties that afflict a large sector of the community;
2. Provide useful source material for further research; and
3. Recommend government action to address the special needs of mainland Puerto Ricans.

A tangential purpose of this report is to dispel the generally poor images of Puerto Ricans residing in the continental United States, for example, the image of young Puerto Ricans as gang members.

Any study that focuses upon the problems of an entire ethnic group faces a dilemma:

- If severe problems are left unmentioned, or if their importance is minimized, the likelihood of their solution is greatly reduced.
- On the other hand, an exclusive focus upon problems can, perhaps, tend to create or reinforce prejudiced attitudes in the minds of uninformed readers.

For example, the mere act of stating (without any qualification) that mainland Puerto Ricans are poorer, have less education, and are more dependent upon welfare than the national average can create a distorted image—an image of an entire people who are uniformly poor, uneducated, and welfare-prone.

Therefore, this survey of legitimate problems must be tempered by facts that place the problems in a realistic perspective:

•It should be remembered that, while compared with the majority white population a disproportionate number of Puerto Ricans live in poverty, most do not, and a substantial number have entered the middle class. (One hundred and four thousand Puerto Rican workers earned $10,000 or more in 1974; about 25,000 earned in excess of $15,000; about 5,000 had earnings of $25,000 or more. However, while about 33 percent of mainland Puerto Ricans were living below the low-income level, the percentage of all Americans living in poverty was less than 12 percent.)[7]

•It should be remembered that, while the educational level of mainland Puerto Ricans is far below the national average, thousands are of high school and university graduates. (As of 1975, there were 198,000 high school graduates.[8] There were also more than 12,500 college graduates, and more than 17,000 enrolled college students.[9])

•It should be remembered that, while a disproportionate number of Puerto Rican adults are engaged in menial, low-paying work, thousands have rewarding jobs that require great skill. (In 1975, more than 42,000 Puerto Ricans held professional, technical, or managerial jobs.[10])

•It should be remembered that, while the percentage of Puerto Ricans on welfare is higher than the national average for all Americans, three-fourths of the Puerto Rican families on the mainland are wholly self-sufficient and receive not one cent of welfare or other Federal aid.[11]

The purpose of stating these facts is to demonstrate that in the face of hostility, prejudice, and government neglect, many Puerto Ricans have successfully made the transition from their native land to the United States.

But the facts also have their gloomier side. As one recent study reported:

> ... Puerto Ricans continue to inherit the slums abandoned by other groups....As the cost of living skyrockets, poverty-level wages continue to shrink; the educational problem continues to degenerate; capital resources are still unavailable because of prejudice, discrimination and unequal opportunity....[12]

Even more recently, an observer summed up the status of the large Puerto Rican community in New York City, exclaiming:

> People would not believe what is happening to Puerto Ricans in the city.... We need to be treated like a devastated nation—requiring a domestic Point Four program....[13]

A dismayingly high percentage of Puerto Ricans are still trapped in poverty. As of March 1975, while 11.6 percent of all Americans were below the low-income level, this was the case for 32.6 percent of mainland

Puerto Ricans (compared with 24 percent of Mexican Americans and 14.3 percent of Cuban Americans).[14]

At the same time, while the median income for all U.S. families was $12,836 per year, Puerto Rican families earned only $7,629 (compared with $9,498 for Mexican American families and $11,410 for Cuban American and "Other Spanish" families).[15]

While only 3.3 percent of all U.S. adults had completed less than 5 years of school, this was the case for 17.4 percent of mainland Puerto Rican adults.[16]

While more than 62 percent of all U.S. adults were high school graduates, only 28.7 percent of Puerto Rican adults had finished high school (compared with 51 percent of Cuban American and 31 percent of Mexican American adults).[17]

As these figures demonstrate, the mainland Puerto Rican community is not only far below the U.S. average in key socioeconomic areas, but also below other major Hispanic groups. The challenge now is to focus upon the neediest members of the Puerto Rican community. Specific, highly selective action must be taken to help these U.S. citizens achieve equal access to economic and education opportunities.

Notes to Introduction

1. Since the passage of legislation in March 1917, all Puerto Ricans are citizens of the United States. Jones Act, 39 Stat. 951 (1917), as amended, 48 U.S.C. §731 et seq. (1970).

2. It is not Commission policy to compare one racial or ethnic group with another. Normally, socioeconomic comparisons are made with the average figures for the total U.S. population. However, since there are often great differences even among different groups of Hispanic origin, it was felt that such comparisons would better illustrate the specific situation of mainland Puerto Ricans.

3. Kal Wagenheim, *A Survey of Puerto Ricans on the U.S. Mainland in the 1970s* (New York: Praeger, 1975), Table 44, p. 104.

4. Ibid., Table 68, p. 125.

5. Ibid., Table 6, p. 74.

6. Luncheon address at conference of book publishers and editors, Plaza Hotel, New York City, Oct. 24, 1974.

7. U.S., Bureau of the Census, *Persons of Spanish Origin: March 1975* (Advance Report), Table 7, p. 8 (hereafter cited as *Persons of Spanish Origin* (month/year)).

8. Ibid., Tables 2 and 4.

9. U.S., Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population, *Puerto Ricans in the United States*, Table 4, p. 34 (hereafter cited as *Puerto Ricans in the United States*).

10. *Persons of Spanish Origin* (March 1975), Table 5, p. 7.

11. *Puerto Ricans in the United States*, Table 9, p. 89.

12. Puerto Rican Forum, *A Study of Poverty Conditions in the New York Puerto Rican Community* (1970), p. iv.

13. Edward Gonzales, Puerto Rican Manpower and Leadership Training Center, Cornell University, interview in New York City, N.Y., Sept. 12, 1974.

14. *Persons of Spanish Origin* (March 1975), Table 8, p. 8.

15. Ibid., Table 6, p. 7.

16. Ibid., Table 4, p. 6.

17. Ibid.

Chapter One

The Puerto Ricans

Puerto Rico, the smallest of the Greater Antilles, is located roughly midway between the southern tip of Florida and the north coast of Venezuela.[1] Its north coast faces the Atlantic Ocean and its southern shores face the Caribbean Sea.

The island is rectangular, about 100 miles long and 35 miles wide, with a rugged mountain range running east-west along its length. A few small offshore islands and keys are within Puerto Rico's jurisdiction; two of them, Vieques and Culebra, are inhabited and are considered municipalities of Puerto Rico.[2]

On November 19, 1493, during his second voyage to the New World, Christopher Columbus landed at Puerto Rico and claimed it for Spain. At the time, the island was called Boriquen by the several thousand Taino Indians who lived there.

In 1508 Juan Ponce de Leon was named governor, and established the first European settlement on the island at Caparra, across the bay from modern San Juan.

Spain's initial interest in Puerto Rico centered on tales of huge gold deposits. The few existing lodes were quickly depleted, however, and the Indians who had been forced to work them either died or fled the island. Spain then turned to agriculture, introducing a plantation economy. The few remaining Indians proved unsuited to field labor and slaves were imported in ever-increasing numbers from West Africa to take their place. (The institution of slavery was maintained in Puerto Rico until 1873.)

During the 19th century, Puerto Rico's population soared from about 150,000 persons to nearly one million. After nearly four centuries of Spanish colonial rule, the island developed into a multiracial Hispanic society. A 1787 census revealed that there still remained more than 2,000 pure-blood Indians in Puerto Rico, and that thousands of other Puerto Ricans were of partial Indian origin. In 1875, when abolition went into effect, more than 30,000 black slaves were freed. Thousands of others—blacks and mulattoes—lived as free men during the period of slavery. During the 19th century, the white community of Spanish settlers was augmented by continued migration from Spain. Many Spanish loyalists came to Puerto Rico from Central and South America in the wake of a series of pro-independence revolutions. Frenchmen came from Louisiana when it was purchased by the United States and from Haiti when the slaves revolted. In the 1840s labor shortages brought Chinese workers to

Cuba and Puerto Rico. Italians, Corsicans, Lebanese, Germans, Scots, and Irish also spiced the melting pot.

As the 20th century approached, the racial composition of Puerto Rican society covered the spectrum from whites *(blancos)* to blacks *(prietos* or *negros),* with a large in-between category known as the *trigueno* ("tan," "olive-skinned," "swarthy"), and very fuzzy lines dividing the groups because of racial intermarriage.

By then, the island had developed its own unique culture and sense of nationhood. When most of Central and South America bubbled with pro-independence ferment, there was similar ferment in Puerto Rico. In 1868 a major rebellion *(El Grito de Lares)* that briefly established an independent republic was quashed by the Spanish military. There was also a loyalist movement that argued for full assimilation with Spain. Midway between these two diametrically opposed factions was the *autonomista* movement, which sought to establish home rule without a complete break from Spain.

In 1897, the Puerto Rican leadership, headed by Luis Munoz Rivera, negotiated a Charter of Autonomy with the Spanish Government.[3] This gave the island an unprecedented degree of freedom. Elections would be held for all members of the island's House of Representatives, a majority of the members of the insular Administrative Council (equivalent to a senate) and also voting delegates to both houses of the Spanish Cortes (Spain's national legislative body). The island's legislature won the power to fix the budget, determine tariffs and taxes, and accept or reject any commercial treaties concluded by Spain without local participation.

But on July 25, 1898 (just a few months after the first autonomous government was formed), U.S. troops landed on Puerto Rico's south coast in one of the final engagements of the Spanish-American War. The United States—at the time seeking to expand its presence in the Pacific and Caribbean—viewed Puerto Rico as a profitable area for agriculture and as a coaling station for its warships (plans were already underway for the building of the Panama Canal).

Under the Treaty of Paris of 1899, Puerto Rico was ceded by Spain to the United States, with the provision that the civil rights and political status of the native inhabitants of the territory be determined by the U.S. Congress.[4]

These negotiations were between representatives of the Spanish and U.S. Governments. No Puerto Ricans were consulted or included in the negotiations. Political expectations on the island were varied. Some anticipated that the island would temporarily be a territory and that, in a matter of time, there would be a transition to full U.S. statehood. Others hoped for the granting of independence, as occurred in Cuba, where the United States evacuated its forces following the war. Others sought a form

of autonomy under U.S. rule, similar to the terms of the 1897 Charter of Autonomy with Spain.

For the first 2 years, the island was ruled by the U.S. military. The Foraker Act of 1900[5] established a civil government. But the Governor was an American, appointed by the U.S. President. The 11-member Executive Council contained an American majority. The laws passed by the 35 elected Puerto Ricans in the insular House of Delegates were subject to veto by the U.S. Congress. Speaking for Puerto Rico in the U.S. House of Representatives was an elected Resident Commissioner, who had no vote. English was imposed as the language of instruction in the schools, on an island where few people, including teachers, knew English. This situation was widely criticized in Puerto Rico.

In 1917 a Revised Organic Act (popularly known as the Jones Act)[6] increased the insular role in government. It included a bill of rights and an elective Senate of 19 members.

But at the same time, the Jones Act also conferred U.S. citizenship on all Puerto Ricans, with the concomitant requirement of obligatory military service. The conferral of citizenship was criticized by some groups in the United States as being a "war measure" since it was shortly before America's entry into the First World War, and German ships were prowling the Atlantic.

The conferral of U.S. citizenship met with mixed feelings in Puerto Rico. The Republican Party (not affiliated with the Republican Party in the United States) constituted a minority, and welcomed the move because its members aspired to eventual U.S. statehood. But the majority Unionist Party favored increased autonomy, and many of its members preferred eventual independence. During the floor debate in Congress, Resident Commissioner Munoz Rivera (head of the Unionist Party) said that his party sought autonomy, and that U.S. citizenship conflicted with the long-range goals of the people. He asked that a plebiscite be held to determine whether or not Puerto Ricans desired American citizenship. The request was denied.

It was believed in some quarters that the grant of citizenship implied the incorporation of Puerto Rico in the Union as a territory. But the U.S. Supreme Court eventually decided that it did not.[7]

For the next three decades, Puerto Rico's relationship with the United States continued unchanged. In 1948, however, Puerto Rico was allowed, for the first time, to elect its own Governor (Luis Munoz Marin). In 1950, the Congress passed Public Law 600, which authorized Puerto Rico to draft its own Constitution.[8] Two years later, on July 25, 1952 (exactly 54 years, to the day, after U.S. troops invaded the island), the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico was inaugurated.

Table 2

Elections in Puerto Rico

(In thousands of votes)

Party	1948	1952	1956	1960	1964	1968	1972
Popular Democratic Party	392.0	429.0	433.0	457.8	487.2	367.3	609.6
Statehood Republican Party	88.1	85.1	172.8	252.3	284.6	4.3	—
Independence Party	66.1	125.7	86.3	24.1	22.1	25.3	52.1
Christian Action Party	—	—	—	52.1	26.8	—	—
Socialist Party	64.1	21.6	—	—	—	—	—
Reformist Party	28.2	—	—	—	—	—	—
New Progressive Party	—	—	—	—	—	390.9	524.0
People's Party	—	—	—	—	—	384.1	2.9
Authentic Sovereignty Party	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.4
Puerto Rico Unionist Party	—	—	—	—	—	—	1.6
Total	638.6	661.6	692.2	786.4	820.9	871.9	1190.6

Source: Board of Elections, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. Cited in Kal Wagenheim, *Puerto Rico: A Profile*, 2d. ed. (New York: Praeger, 1975), p. 155.

Under this new arrangement, Puerto Rico acquired a considerable degree of home rule. It would continue to elect its own Governor and Resident Commissioner in Congress, and all members of the insular House and Senate. It would appoint all judges, cabinet officials, and lesser officials in the executive branch. It would set its own educational policies (Spanish became the language of instruction in the public schools, with English a required second language, in 1948), determine its own budget, and amend its own civil and criminal code.

The Commonwealth was described as "a permanent union between the United States and Puerto Rico on the basis of common citizenship, common defense, common currency, free market, and a common loyalty to the value of democracy," with the Federal Government retaining specifically defined powers, "essential to the Union." In practical terms, the Federal Government retained powers over military defense and foreign affairs, and Federal agencies (such as the postal system, the Federal Communications Commission, and others) operated as they did in the States of the Union.

This political arrangement has gone unchanged since 1952. The Popular Democratic Party, which won power in 1940 and has been the proponent of Commonwealth status, has remained in power since that time, except for a 4-year period (1969 – 1972), when a pro-statehood government won the election. (See Table 2 for election results from 1948 through 1972.)

In 1967 a plebiscite on political status was held. Nearly 60 percent of the voters favored continuation of Commonwealth status, with the aim of gradually increasing the island's powers of home rule. About 39 percent favored statehood. Less than 1 percent voted for independence, but the major pro-independence groups abstained from participation in the plebiscite. (Although the independence movement has not made strong showings in elections, it continues to be a prominent—albeit fragmented—force. Independence advocates cover the entire range of the ideological spectrum. Tactics have ranged from participation in elections, to militant protest, to occasional outbursts of violence.) As a result of the 1967 plebiscite and the reelection of the Popular Democratic Party in 1972, an ad hoc committee of U.S. and Puerto Rican members has developed proposals to increase Puerto Rico's autonomy in specific areas. Some of these proposals were submitted to Congress in 1975.[9]

While the island's political status has remained the same for the past 23 years, Puerto Rico has undergone radical socioeconomic change since the end of the Second World War.

The development strategy of the Puerto Rican leadership was to industrialize the island by attracting outside capital with long-term

Table 3

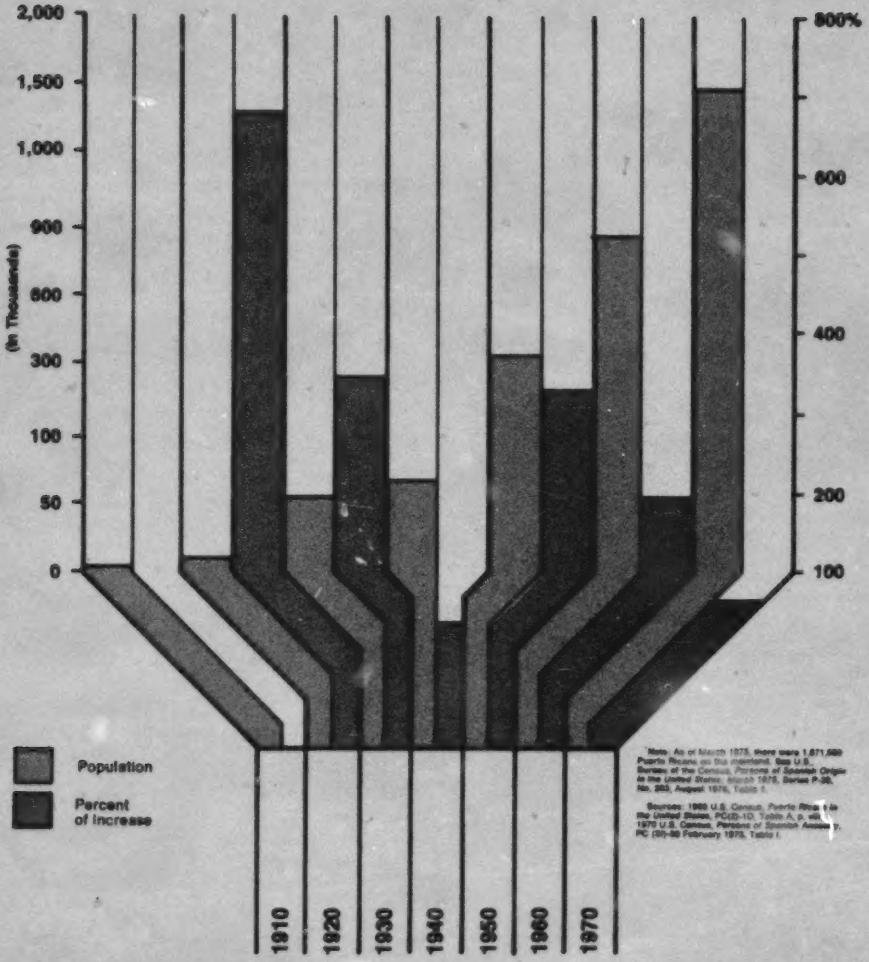
Puerto Rico, 1940-1970

	1940	1950	1960	1970
Population (millions)	1.8	2.2	2.3	2.7
Birth rate per 1,000 Population	38.7	38.5	33.5	25.8
Life expectancy (years)	46	61	69	72
School enrollment (thousands)	302	475	718	809
University students (thousands)	5.2	12.5	24.5	256.9
Net per capita income	121	279	582	1417
Labor force (thousands)	602	686	685	827
Unemployed (thousands)	66	88	83	89
Unemployment rate (%)	11	13	11	11
Jobs (thousands) in:				
Manufacturing	56	55	81	141
Agriculture	230	216	125	74
Commerce	54	90	97	138
Government	19	45	62	113
Other fields	177	190	177	272
Number of registered motor vehicles (thousands)	26.8	60.7	179.6	614.0
Number of telephones (thousands)	17.4	34.4	82.4	319.2
Annual value of construction (millions)	—	$78.5	$131.9	$323.3

Source: Commonwealth of Puerto Rico Planning Board, *Socioeconomic Statistics of Puerto Rico. Fiscal Years 1940, 1948, 1950, 1960, to 1973.*

Table 4

Growth of Puerto Rican Population on the U.S. Mainland



industrial tax exemptions, lower wage rates, government low-interest loans, and other types of incentives.

By the mid-1950s, manufacturing replaced agriculture as the island's principal source of income. There was also a shift in living patterns, as the island grew increasingly urban. A large urban and suburban middle class was created. Concrete homes replaced wooden shacks. Miles of new roads were built. Factories sprang up in fields once devoted to sugar cane. Remote areas were linked to major cities and the rest of the world by telephones, radio, and television.

Table 3 gives some idea of the radical shift to modernization that has taken place in Puerto Rican society during the past few decades.

By 1970 Puerto Rico remained far poorer than the mainland United States. But it had leaped well ahead of many nations. A considerable sector of the island's populace enjoyed a living standard comparable to that of the United States and Western Europe. Advances in public health had made significant inroads in infant mortality and deaths from infectious diseases or malnutrition. A people that had once traveled on foot, or horseback, was now a people on wheels, as hundreds of thousands of cars clogged new highways. In a few decades, Puerto Rico had become, in the words of former Governor Roberto Sanchez Vilella, "a demi-developed society."

Despite this progress, major problems remained. One was the continuing debate over the political status of the island and its relationship to the United States. Although a majority of the voters continue to support the Commonwealth status, a strong minority advocates statehood, and a smaller (but no less vociferous) third group insists that independence should be the island's destiny.

Coupled with this perennial (often bitter) debate over political status are severe, chronic problems of poverty, unemployment, and underemployment.[10]

While the industrialization program permitted undeniable improvement in the quality of life for thousands of families, it was unable to keep pace with the island's growing needs. A high birth rate and the loss of jobs in agriculture (farm jobs dropped from 230,000 in 1940 to 74,000 in 1970) swelled the ranks of the unemployed.[11] In 1970 the executive director of the Puerto Rico Manufacturers Association estimated that real unemployment (as opposed to the official unemployment figure of 11 percent) was nearly 30 percent.[12]

For many, the sole hope for socioeconomic mobility was to migrate. Between 1940 and 1970, about three-quarters of a million Puerto Ricans left their island to seek better opportunities on the U.S. mainland.[13] (Considering Puerto Rico's population size, this would be equivalent to 50 million Americans leaving the United States to settle elsewhere.) It is

doubtful that a single Puerto Rican family was left unaffected by this massive exodus.

MIGRATION TO THE MAINLAND

Puerto Ricans were living on the United States mainland more than 140 years ago, when the island was still a secure part of the Spanish colonial empire. During the 1830s, the founding members of a Spanish benevolent society in New York City included several Puerto Rican merchants.[14] By the middle of the 19th century, Puerto Rico was engaged in more commerce with the United States than it was with Spain, and the sea route between San Juan and New York (as well as other mainland ports) was well traveled. In the late 19th century, the movement for independence from Spain was being planned in New York City by groups of Puerto Rican and Cuban patriots. A dozen years after the U.S. takeover of Puerto Rico in 1898, the Bureau of the Census noted 1,513 Puerto Ricans on the mainland.

But large-scale Puerto Rican migration to the United States mainland is a post-World War II phenomenon.
As one observer has noted:

> The Puerto Ricans have come for the most part in the first great airborne migration of people from abroad; they are decidedly newcomers of the aviation age. A Puerto Rican can travel from San Juan to New York in less time than a New Yorker could travel from Coney Island to Times Square a century ago. They are the first group to come in large numbers from a different cultural background, but who are, nevertheless, citizens of the United States.[15]

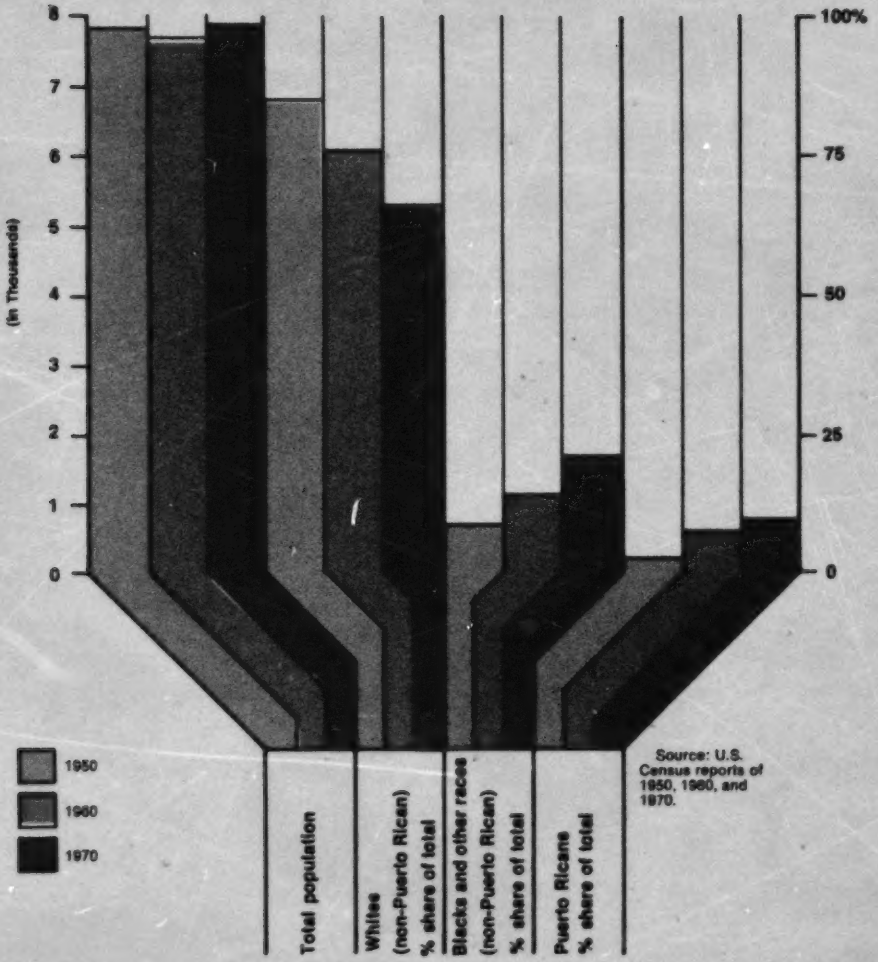
In 1940 less than 70,000 Puerto Ricans lived on the U.S. mainland. Ten years later, the migrant community had more than quadrupled to 300,000 persons, and in the following decade, the population nearly tripled, to 887,000. By 1970, persons of Puerto Rican birth or parentage living in the United States numbered at least 1.4 million, and the figure grew to 1.7 million by 1975. (See Table 4.)

New York City, the first home for millions of immigrants to this country, now became the new home for a massive influx of U.S. citizens from other areas: Puerto Ricans from the West Indies and blacks from the Southern States.

Between 1950 and 1970, the population size of New York City remained stable at 7.9 million, but the city's racial-ethnic composition changed. In those two decades, the Puerto Rican community grew from 3 percent to better than 10 percent of the city's population. In turn, the number of

Table 5

Changes in Ethnic Distribution of New York City Population



Source: U.S. Census reports of 1950, 1960, and 1970.

blacks and persons of other races (Asian Americans, Native Americans, etc.) grew from 10 percent to 23 percent of the population. The city's white (non-Puerto Rican) population share dropped from 87 percent to 67 percent. (See Table 5.)

The earliest Puerto Rican migrants had settled in the East Harlem sector of Manhattan, which came to be known as *El Barrio* (a Spanish word meaning, roughly, "The Neighborhood"). In 1940 about 70 percent of New York's 61,000 Puerto Ricans lived in Manhattan. But the migrants soon began to fan out to the city's other four boroughs. By 1970, *El Barrio* was still an important Puerto Rican enclave, but the thrust of movement was elsewhere. The Manhattanites comprised only 23 percent of the city's 811,000 Puerto Ricans. By then, the Bronx was the largest Puerto Rican borough (39 percent of the population), followed by Brooklyn (with 33 percent). The outlying boroughs of Queens and Richmond were the homes of 5 percent of the city's Puerto Ricans. (See Table 6.)

Between 1960 and 1970, the Puerto Rican community in Manhattan dropped by 18 percent, to 185,000 persons. In the meantime, the Bronx community grew by nearly 70 percent (to 316,000 persons), Brooklyn saw an almost 50 percent increase (to 268,000 persons), and the small communities in Queens and Richmond (about 40,000 persons combined) grew by more than 120 percent. (See Table 6.)

While Puerto Ricans dispersed among the city's five boroughs, they were also moving outside of the city. In 1940, New York City was the home for nearly 90 percent of the migrants from the island. By 1970, only 57 percent of the Puerto Ricans lived there.[16]

There were substantial Puerto Rican communities in Yonkers, Long Island, and further upstate in Buffalo, Rochester, and Newburgh. Across the Hudson River, the Puerto Rican population of New Jersey grew to 137,000, more than double the figure of a decade previous.

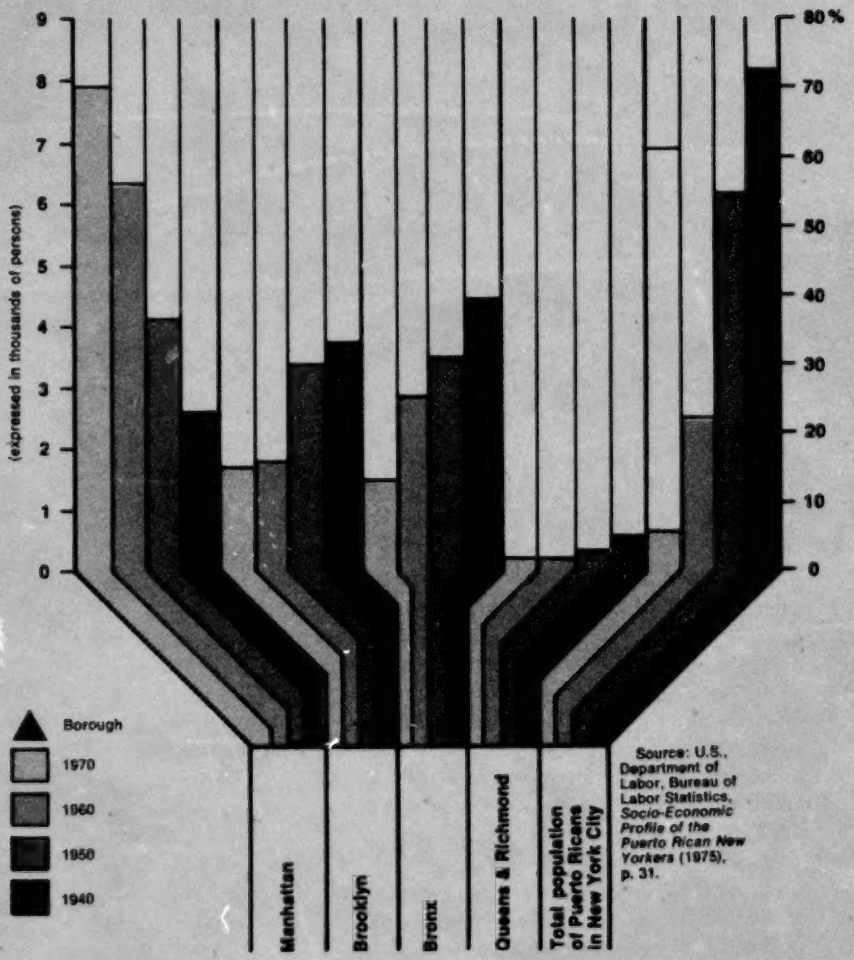
Cities such as Newark, Jersey City, Paterson, and Hoboken all had Puerto Rican communities of more than 10,000 persons by 1970. In New England, large communities evolved in Boston, Bridgeport, and Hartford. Moving westward, the migrants established themselves in Philadelphia, Chicago, Cleveland, Lorain, and Gary. Large communities also developed in Miami and Los Angeles. (See Table 7.) By 1970, more than 30 U.S. cities had Puerto Rican communities of 5,000 or more persons. In some smaller towns, Puerto Ricans are now an important sector of the population.

Reasons for Migration: Although economics is almost always a key factor in the movement of peoples from their native land, human motivation is never that simple or simplistic. Puerto Ricans fled neither political nor religious persecution, but life on the island for many young

Table 6

Dispersion of Puerto Ricans Among New York City Boroughs

(expressed in terms of percent of Puerto Rican population)



Source: U.S., Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Socio-Economic Profile of the Puerto Rican New Yorkers* (1975), p. 31.

Table 7

Population Trends of Puerto Ricans on the U.S. Mainland, by Region, State, and City, 1950, 1960, 1970

	1950	1960	1970
United States			
Total	301,375	892,513	1,391,463
Northeast	264,530	740,813	1,126,410
New York	252,515	642,622	878,980
New York City	245,880	612,574	817,712
Buffalo	–	2,176	6,090
Rochester	–	1,990	5,916
New Jersey	5,640	55,351	136,937
Newark	545	9,698	27,663
Jersey City	655	7,427	16,325
Paterson	–	5,123	12,036
Hoboken	–	5,313	10,047
Passaic	–	–	6,853
Pennsylvania	3,560	21,206	44,947
Philadelphia	1,910	14,424	26,948
Connecticut	1,305	15,247	38,493
Bridgeport	590	5,840	10,048
Hartford	–	–	8,631
Massachusetts	1,175	5,217	24,561
Boston	–	995	7,335
Regional Balance	335	1,170	2,492
North Central	10,675	67,833	135,813
Illinois	3,570	36,081	88,244
Chicago	2,555	32,371	79,582
Ohio	2,115	13,940	21,147
Cleveland	–	4,116	8,104
Lorain	–	3,799	6,031
Indiana	1,800	7,218	9,457
Gary	–	2,946	5,228
Regional Balance	3,190	10,594	16,965
South	13,480	45,876	69,742
Florida	4,040	19,535	29,588
Miami	–	6,547	6,835
Regional Balance	9,440	26,341	40,154
West	12,690	38,030	59,498
California	10,295	28,108	46,955
Los Angeles	–	6,424	10,116
San Francisco	–	–	5,037
Regional Balance	2,395	9,922	12,543

Note: "Regional Balance" represents the balance of the Puerto Rican population in the respective regions.

Source: U.S. Census reports for 1950, 1960, and 1970.

adults, particularly in rural areas, may have seemed intolerable. As is the case in many parts of the world, rural Puerto Rico offered a static environment, with few visible avenues for upward social mobility.

In the years following the Second World War, the urban parts of the island began to modernize, offering access to modern homes, automobiles, and other lures of modern life. Television and radio (which became ubiquitous by the 1950s) tempted rural viewers with scenes of life elsewhere. Thousands of Puerto Ricans had served in World War II and later in Korea. They came home with tales of their travels throughout the world and on the U.S. mainland. In other cases, Puerto Rican rural laborers were recruited for seasonal work on U.S. farms and gained a taste of mainland life. Air travel between San Juan and New York was quick and economical (as recently as the early 1960s the roundtrip economy flight between San Juan and New York was less than $100 and it still remains below $200). In many cases, migrants first moved from their rural homes to the island's cities, and then continued northward to the U.S. mainland."

The hardships endured by the earliest migrants became less harsh for the later arrivals, who found relatives and friends waiting, stores that sold familiar vegetables and fruits, and even Spanish-language newspapers and radio and television programs. Migration nourished itself, to the point where some made the 3-hour flight to another world on a whim, or in reaction to some personal setback. If one can sum up motivations, they could all be equated with the search for a better life.

The question of economics was, of course, ever present and probably decisive. Wage levels on the U.S. mainland were higher than those in Puerto Rico. The opportunities for employment were more numerous and more varied. Joseph Monserrat, former director of the Migration Division of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, has observed that:

> The size of the Puerto Rican migration varies closely with job opportunities in the United States; i.e., when job opportunities increase, migration increases; when job opportunities decline, migration declines."

This fact was confirmed in a recent study by a Puerto Rican economist, Dr. Rita M. Maldonado. Her study indicated that "Puerto Ricans emigrate to the U.S. mainland primarily for economic reasons...specifically...(1) if the job market in the U.S. is relatively better than that in Puerto Rico, [and] (2) if the average wage in the U.S. is higher relative to that in Puerto Rico...."[19] Her study also appears to indicate that the level of welfare payments and unemployment compensation in the

United States is not a decisive factor in encouraging Puerto Ricans to emigrate.[30]

Since the Second World War, there have been three distinct trends in Puerto Rican migration, and all three have responded to job opportunities on the mainland and the island.

1. In the 1950s, an average of 41,000 Puerto Ricans migrated to the United States each year. The U.S. economy was booming, and job recruiters came to the island in search of workers for the sweatshops in the needlework industry. During this period, Puerto Rico, unlike the mainland, offered few urban jobs, particularly in factories, that could serve as a social step upward in comparison to field labor. At the same time, thousands of Puerto Rican farmworkers were afflicted by unemployment or had seasonal work (such as sugar cane cultivation) that left them idle for several months of the year. This was the single biggest decade of Puerto Rican migration, as more than 400,000 persons (nearly 20 percent of the island's population) moved to the U.S. mainland.

2. By the 1960s, life had changed in Puerto Rico. While the U.S. economy was still vigorous, the island itself had begun to industrialize; hundreds of new factories opened, offering jobs and the chance for a life of modest comfort in Puerto Rico. Although these opportunities blunted the migratory thrust somewhat, the new factories could absorb neither all of the young persons entering the labor force nor the farm workers idled by the shrinkage of agricultural jobs. During the decade, an average of 20,000 persons migrated to the United States each year.

3. The U.S. economy began to turn sour in the early 1970s. Unemployment became widespread. Many factories closed in the New York City area. Despite the fact that Puerto Rico, too, was severely lashed by the recession of the 1970s (unemployment on the island soared to 19 percent by 1975), prospects for mainland jobs were so bleak that the migration flow was reversed. Since 1970 there has been a consistent trend of net return migration to the island each year. This is the first time that such a reverse migration trend has sustained itself over a prolonged period, except for the years 1931 – 1934, when the United States was in the midst of the Great Depression.[31] (See Table 8.)

It should be noted at this point that return migration to Puerto Rico is not just a phenomenon of the 1970s. There has *always* been constant return migration to Puerto Rico, but in previous years the number of migrants to the U.S. has almost invariably exceeded the number of return migrants. In 1965, for example, more than 22,000 persons moved back to Puerto Rico. In 1969 – 70, nearly 129,000 persons returned. All of these persons had lived on the mainland for at least 6 months, and a third of them had lived there for more than 6 years. (See Table 9.)

Table 8

Migration Between Puerto Rico and the United States Mainland

Fiscal Year	Traveled to U.S. Mainland	Traveled to Puerto Rico	Net Migration to U.S. Mainland[1]
1920	19,142	15,003	4,139
1921	17,137	17,749	–612
1922	13,521	14,154	–633
1923	14,950	13,194	1,756
1924	17,777	14,057	3,720
1925	17,493	15,356	2,137
1926	22,010	16,389	5,621
1927	27,355	18,626	8,729
1928	27,916	21,772	6,144
1929	25,428	20,791	4,637
1930	26,010	20,434	5,576
1931	18,524	20,462	–1,938
1932	16,224	18,932	–2,708
1933	15,133	16,215	–1,082
1934	13,721	16,687	–2,966
1935	19,944	18,927	1,017
1936	24,145	20,697	3,448
1937	27,311	22,793	4,518
1938	25,884	23,522	2,362
1939	26,653	21,165	4,488
1940	24,932	23,924	1,008
1941	30,916	30,416	500
1942	29,480	28,552	928
1943	19,367	16,766	2,601
1944	27,586	19,498	8,088
1945	33,740	22,737	11,003
1946	70,618	45,997	24,621
1947	136,259	101,115	35,144
1948	132,523	104,492	28,031
1949	157,338	124,252	33,086
1950	170,727	136,572	34,155
1951	188,898	146,978	41,920
1952	258,884	197,226	61,658
1953	304,910	230,307	74,603

Continued on next page

Table 8

Fiscal Year	Traveled to U.S. Mainland	Traveled to Puerto Rico	Net Migration to U.S. Mainland[1]
1954	303,007	258,798	44,209
1955	315,491	284,309	31,182
1956	380,950	319,303	61,647
1957	439,656	391,372	48,284
1958	467,987	442,031	25,956
1959	557,701	520,489	37,212
1960	666,756	643,014	23,742
1961	681,982	668,182	13,800
1962	807,549	796,186	11,363
1963	930,666	925,868	4,798
1964	1,076,403	1,072,037	4,366
1965	1,265,096	1,254,338	10,758
1966	1,475,228	1,445,139	30,089
1967	1,628,909	1,594,735	34,174
1968	1,858,151	1,839,470	18,681
1969	2,105,217	2,112,264	–7,047
1970	1,495,587	1,479,447	16,140
1971	1,566,723	1,605,414	–38,691
1972	–	–	–19,462
1973	1,780,192	1,799,071	–18,879
1974	1,622,001	1,630,525	–8,524

[1] A minus sign (—) denotes return migration.

Note: Figures from 1920 through 1969 are for total passenger traffic between Puerto Rico and all other destinations (U.S. mainland, U.S. Virgin Islands, and foreign nations), but the net migration figures accurately reflect migratory trends between Puerto Rico and the U.S. mainland.

Source: Data from Commonwealth of Puerto Rico Planning Board, published by Migration Division, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Department of Labor (Nov. 4, 1975).

With such constant back-and-forth movement, it is difficult to find a Puerto Rican adult on the island who has not spent at least some time in the United States. Some observers have perceived the two Puerto Rican communities (on the island and on the mainland) as two parts of the same organism, linked by a highway in the air. By 1970, the combined population of Puerto Ricans on the island and the U.S. mainland was in excess of 4.1 million, with 66 percent residing in Puerto Rico, 20 percent in New York City, and 14 percent living elsewhere on the U.S. mainland. (See Table 10.)

According to the Migration Division of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico:

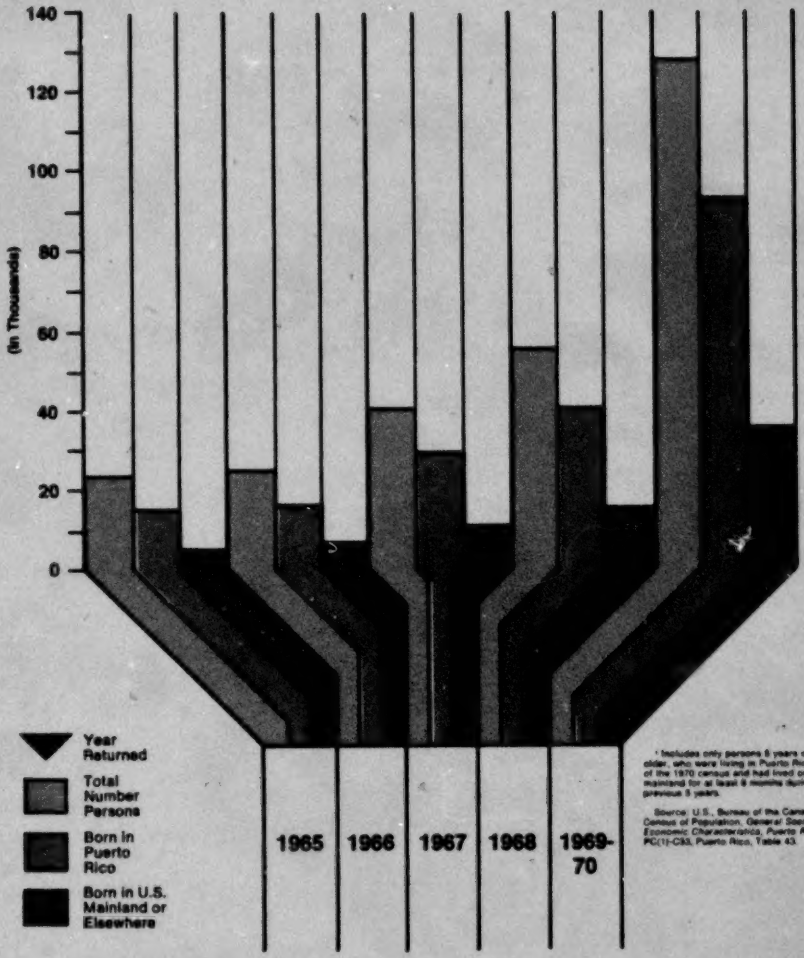
> In addition to the 1.7 million year-round Puerto Rican residents of the U.S. mainland, several thousand migratory workers came each spring and summer, to fill seasonal farm labor shortages in many states along the Eastern seaboard and in the Midwest. Most of these workers return to Puerto Rico at the end of the farm season. Since the slack season in sugar cane (which is the winter crop in Puerto Rico) coincides with the peak of the farm season in the United States, this arrangement enables U.S. farmers to obtain much needed manpower; it also enables Puerto Rican agricultural workers, who might otherwise be unemployed during the summer months, to obtain work. Last year in New Jersey alone, Puerto Rican farm workers harvested crops worth more than $100 million.[22]

The focus of this report is not on this migratory farm labor population. However, Puerto Rican migrant farm workers have problems similar to those of Puerto Ricans residing permanently on the mainland. These include discrimination, low wages, inadequate housing, and poor educational facilities for their children.

Who Are the Migrants? According to the 1970 census, mainland Puerto Rican women slightly outnumbered men, 707,000 to 685,000.[23] Nearly 93 percent of the mainland Puerto Ricans were described as "white," while 5 percent were classified as "Negro," and the remaining 2 percent fell into the category of "other."[24] However, the simple black-white racial criteria commonly used in the United States are wholly inadequate when applied to the multiracial Puerto Rican society. In Puerto Rico, many persons describe themselves as *"trigueno,"* which is neither Negroid nor Caucasian by U.S. standards. This is just one example of the type of cultural shock encountered by Puerto Rican migrants, who are not accustomed to such sharp-edged racial divisions. Puerto Rican scholar Frank Bonilla has observed:

Table 9

Return Migration from U.S. Mainland to Puerto Rico, 1965-1970[1]

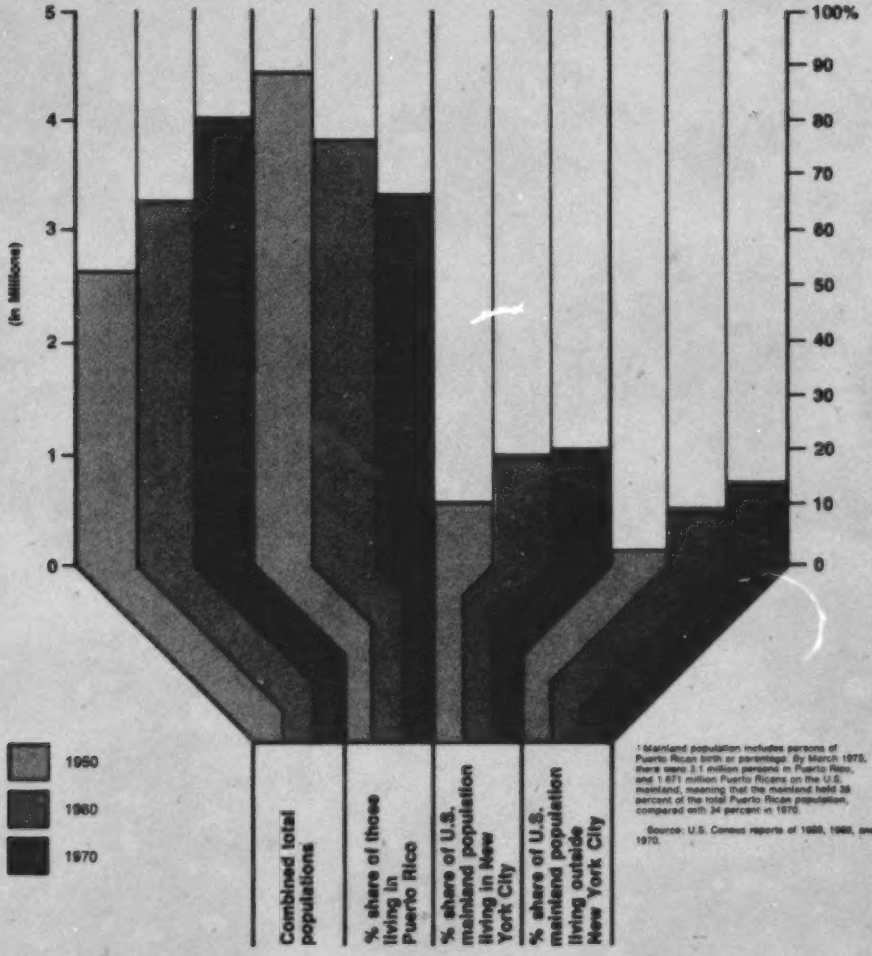


[1] Includes only persons 5 years of age or older, who were living in Puerto Rico at the time of the 1970 census and had lived on the U.S. mainland for at least 6 months during the previous 5 years.

Source: U.S., Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population, *General Social and Economic Characteristics, Puerto Rico*, PC(1)-C53, Puerto Rico, Table 43.

Table 10

Combined Populations of Puerto Rico and Puerto Ricans on the U.S. Mainland, 1950, 1960, 1970[1]



[1] Mainland population includes persons of Puerto Rican birth or parentage. By March 1970, there were 3.1 million persons in Puerto Rico, and 1.671 million Puerto Ricans on the U.S. mainland, meaning that the mainland held 35 percent of the total Puerto Rican population, compared with 34 percent in 1970.

Source: U.S. Census reports of 1950, 1960, and 1970.

> We live in a society that knows only black and white. Puerto Rican complacency and equivocation with respect to race and even our more genuine accommodations of racial differences have little place here. As we have discovered, here one is black, white, or a nonsomething. Still, Puerto Ricans—white or black—have little comprehension of the deep racial animosities that divide mainland Americans. Many are understandably reluctant to become part of a fight that is to them ugly and meaningless.[25]

More recently, a Puerto Rican professor at Pace University, New York City, Clara Rodriguez, stated that:

> [W]ithin the U.S. perspective, Puerto Ricans, racially speaking, belong to both groups [black and white]; however, ethnically, they belong to neither. Thus placed, Puerto Ricans find themselves caught between two polarities and at a dialectical distance from both. Puerto Ricans are between white and black.[26]

She noted, "Perhaps the primary point of contrast is that, in Puerto Rico, racial identification is subordinate to cultural identification, while in the U.S., racial identification, to a large extent, determines cultural identification. Thus, when asked that decisive question, 'Who are you?' Puerto Ricans of all colors and ancestry answer, 'Puerto Rican,' while most New Yorkers answer, black, Jewish, or perhaps 'of Italian descent.' This is not to say that Puerto Ricans feel no racial identification, but rather that cultural identification supercedes it."[27]

No recent studies have been made of Puerto Ricans at the moment of their departure for the U.S. mainland. But between the years 1951 and 1961, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico government conducted periodic surveys at San Juan International Airport, and came up with the following profile of migrants:

- More than half were in the 15 – 24 age group and more than 85 percent were under age 35. Young children and older persons were very much underrepresented.
- In terms of educational achievement, the migrants were slightly above the island average. Three-fourths of them had completed 8 years or less of school. About one-third had attended high school, but those with college experience were underrepresented.
- Most migrants were unskilled or semiskilled. While many had been previously employed, and some had held professional or managerial jobs, more than half reported no work experience at all. Farm laborers and factory workers represented the two largest groups with job experience.[28]

A recent U.S. Department of Labor report has observed that:

Puerto Ricans who migrate are better equipped for finding a job on the mainland than their counterparts in the Puerto Rican population. They tend to move at the beginning of their work careers, age 15 – 24; and almost half have some previous work experience. Their level of education and skill is at or above the island average. Yet they face the competitive labor market of the mainland with several handicaps. Most have only a grade school education and are unable to speak English. The work experience which they have, for example, farm labor, does not qualify them to compete for better jobs in urban areas. Even those who come from skilled occupations face the prospect that mainland employers will not consider their experience transferable. All share the disadvantage of newcomers in ability to cope with customs, practices and institutional arrangements in a new location.[29]

Age Differences: While the median age for the 209 million people of the United States is 28.6 years, the typical Puerto Rican is 9 years younger (and 18 years younger than the typical Cuban migrant to the United States). The proportion of Puerto Rican children in the preschool years is nearly double the national average (See Table 11.) Only 1.5 percent of mainland Puerto Ricans are age 65 or older, compared with 10.1 percent of all Americans. There appears to be a tendency for the Puerto Rican population to stay relatively young, because many of its older members return to the island. Between 1965 and 1970, for example, more than half of the return migrants were age 25 and older, and only one-fourth were in the age 15 – 24 bracket (whereas about half of the migrants to the mainland are age 15 – 24).

Language: More than 83 percent of mainland Puerto Ricans report that Spanish is their mother tongue, compared with 72 percent of Mexican Americans and 95 percent of Cuban Americans.[30] As for "language usually spoken in the home," only 27 percent of the Puerto Ricans reported that it was English. More than 72 percent usually spoke Spanish at home, compared with 47 percent of the Mexican Americans and 87 percent of the Cuban Americans.[31]

However, younger mainland Puerto Ricans demonstrate far more facility in English. While less than 60 percent of the mainland Puerto Ricans age 25 and over report that they are able to read and write English, more than 80 percent of those in the age 10 – 24 bracket can do so. Males tend to be more able to read and write English, perhaps because their occupations thrust them into English-speaking environments (see Table 12).

Family Characteristics: Puerto Ricans have younger, larger families than the U.S. average. More than three-fourths of the Puerto Rican families have children under age 18, compared with slightly more than

Table 11

Population by Age, March 1975

	Total U.S. Pop.	Mexican American	Puerto Rican	Cuban
Total (thousands)	209,572	6,690	1,671	743
Percent	100.00	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under 5 years	7.7	13.7	13.0	4.6
5 to 9 years	8.3	12.5	13.0	6.5
10 to 17 years	15.7	19.5	20.7	16.7
18 to 20 years	5.7	6.6	5.2	4.0
21 to 24 years	6.9	7.8	5.8	5.4
25 to 34 years	14.4	13.8	15.9	9.3
35 to 44 years	10.8	10.7	12.8	15.6
45 to 54 years	11.3	8.1	7.0	18.6
55 to 64 years	9.3	3.8	4.1	10.7
65 years and over	10.1	3.3	1.5	8.6
18 years and over	68.3	54.3	53.3	72.2
21 years and over	62.6	47.7	47.1	68.2
Median age (years)	28.6	19.8	19.4	37.3

Source: U.S., Bureau of the Census, *Persons of Spanish Origin in the United States: March 1975*, Series P-20, No. 283, August 1975, Table 2.

Table 12

Reporting Ability to Read and Write English, Total U.S. Population, Mainland Puerto Ricans, and All Persons of Spanish Origin, 1969

	Total U.S. Pop.	Puerto Ricans	Total Spanish Origin
Percent, age 10 and over	95.0	69.4	80.2
age 10 to 24	96.8	80.6	91.1
age 25 and over	94.2	59.7	71.9
Percent males, age 10 and over	95.3	72.9	82.8
males, age 10 to 24	96.7	82.3	91.7
males, age 25 and over	94.6	65.1	75.9
Percent females, age 10 and over	94.8	66.1	77.9
females, age 10 to 24	96.9	79.1	90.6
females, age 25 and over	93.9	55.6	68.1

Source: U.S., Bureau of the Census, *Persons of Spanish Origin in the United States, November 1969*, Series P-20, No. 213, February 1971, Table 17.

Table 13

Family Characteristics of Total U.S. Population, Mainland Puerto Ricans, Mexican Americans, 1972

	Total U.S. Population	Puerto Ricans	Mexican Americans
Families (in thousands)	53,296	363	1,100
Percent with own children under age 18	55.2	75.8	77.0
Average number of own children under age 18 per family	1.22	1.97	2.11
Percent families with:			
1 own child	18.9	19.2	19.8
2 own children	17.6	22.7	21.3
3 own children	10.2	13.9	12.5
4 own children	4.9	10.1	10.7
5 own children	2.1	4.8	6.9
6 or more own children	1.6	5.0	5.9
Percent families headed by a woman (one-parent families)	11.6	28.9	14.1

Source: U.S., Bureau of the Census, *Persons of Spanish Origin, March 1972*, Series P-20, No. 238, July 1972.

half of all U.S. families. Nearly 10 percent of the Puerto Rican families have 5 or more children, compared with under 4 percent of all U.S. families. Also, while 11 percent of U.S. families are headed by a woman (one-parent families), this was the case for nearly 30 percent of Puerto Rican families."[32] (See Table 13.)

MAINLAND-BORN PUERTO RICANS

While the mainland Puerto Rican population has grown rapidly in recent years, its composition has undergone radical change. In 1950, only about one-fourth of the 300,000 mainland Puerto Ricans had been born there. But by 1970, the U.S.-born had multiplied to 646,000, compared with 783,000 island-born migrants. In a decade, they had grown by 111 percent, compared to only 31 percent for their island-born parents. (See Table 14.)

The two groups (U.S.-born and island-born) can, at this point in history, already be perceived as quite different. The median age for migrants from the island is 30 years, which approximates the median for all Americans. But the median age for U.S.-born Puerto Ricans is only 9.3 years.

While only 25,000 of the migrants are under age 5, more than 163,000 of the U.S.-born are in this preschool category. While more than 650,000 of the migrants are over age 18, only 106,000 of the U.S.-born are over age 18. (See Table 15.)

The importance of these figures should not be overlooked. The typical Puerto Rican adult on the mainland was born in Puerto Rico. The great bulk of the U.S.-born are still of preschool or elementary school age, and have yet to make their impact upon the community.

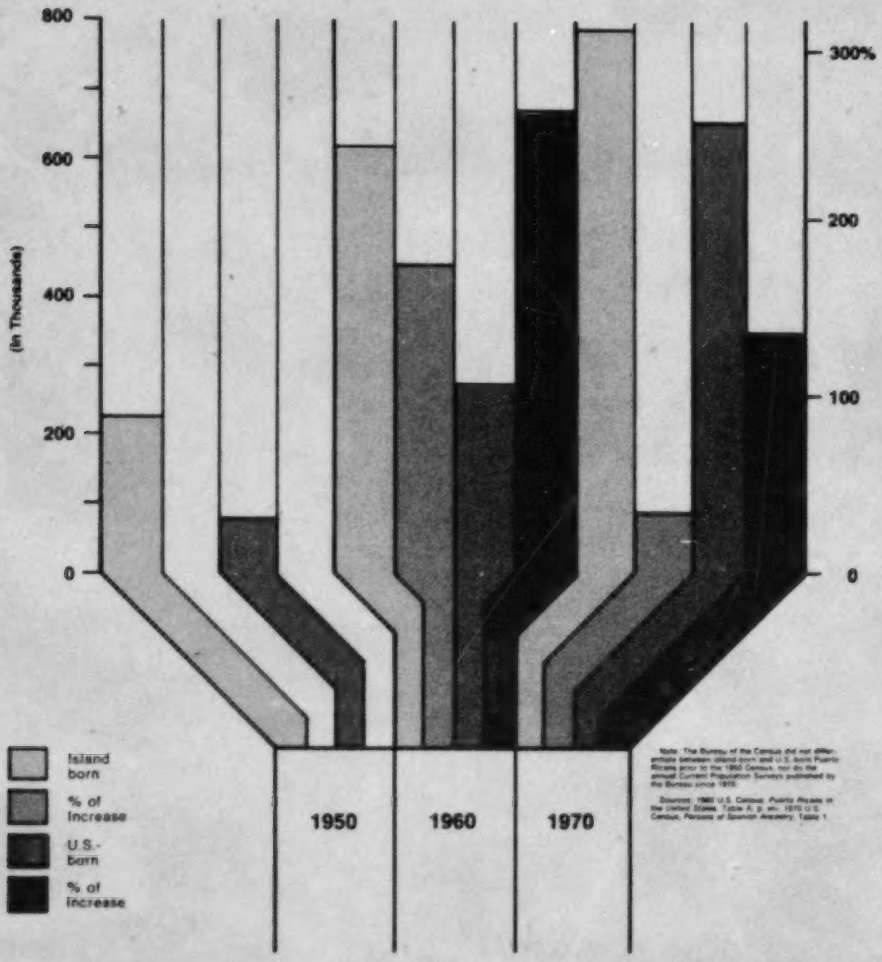
Some trends, however, can already be ascertained. Relatively few U.S.-born Puerto Ricans are of marrying age, but they display a much faster rate of cultural mobility in comparison with their island-born parents. For example, while more than 80 percent of the married migrants have Puerto Rican spouses, only slightly more than 50 percent of the married U.S.-born have married within their ethnic group. (See Table 16.)

The U.S.-born Puerto Ricans seem to be conforming to many of the characteristics of American families. For example, the number of children per 1,000 American women age 25 to 34 is 2,374. Among migrant Puerto Rican women, the number is 2,812 children. For U.S.-born Puerto Rican women, the number is 2,272, which is below the national average. The same holds true for women in the age 35 – 44 bracket. (See Table 17.)

Cultural adaptation is often a sign of upward socio-economic mobility, and these trends offer some cause for optimism. This does not mean that second-generation Puerto Ricans are not confronted with problems similar to those of their island-born parents. Even though their

Table 14

Relative Growth of Island-born and U.S.-born Puerto Rican Populations on the U.S. Mainland



Note: The Bureau of the Census did not differentiate between island-born and U.S.-born Puerto Ricans prior to the 1960 Census, nor do the annual Current Population Surveys published by the Bureau since 1970.

Sources: 1960 U.S. Census, *Puerto Ricans in the United States*, Table 4, p. xiv. 1970 U.S. Census, *Persons of Spanish Ancestry*, Table 1.

Table 15

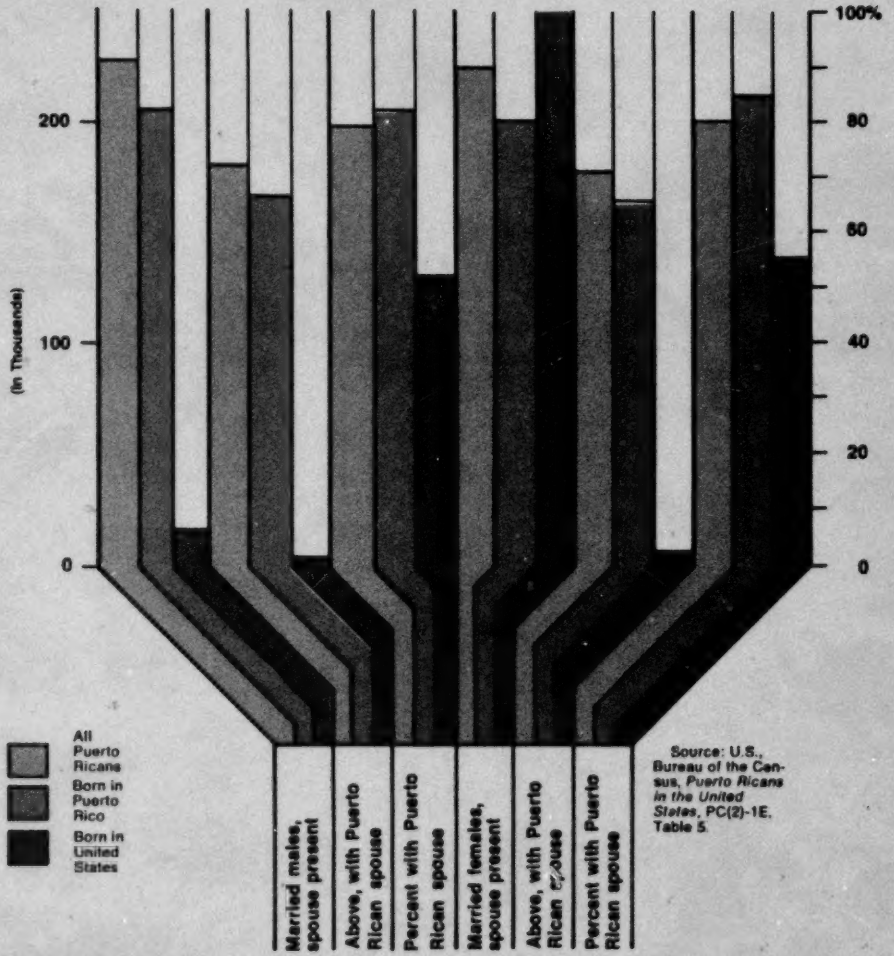
Age of Mainland Puerto Ricans, by Birthplace, 1970

Age	Born in Puerto Rico	Born in U.S.
Under 5 years	25,535	163,038
5 to 9 years	42,767	147,622
10 to 14 years	51,967	117,326
15 to 19 years	72,171	66,447
20 to 24 years	108,191	28,940
25 to 29 years	103,642	15,797
30 to 34 years	92,505	11,289
35 to 39 years	79,797	11,066
40 to 44 years	64,568	7,779
45 to 49 years	51,455	4,410
50 to 54 years	37,007	2,368
55 to 59 years	28,625	1,808
60 to 64 years	20,306	1,287
65 to 69 years	13,575	981
70 to 74 years	8,190	394
75 to 79 years	4,870	320
80 to 84 years	2,602	186
85 years and older	2,314	321
Totals	810,087	581,376
Median age (years)	30.0	9.3
Persons under age 18	159,900	474,496
Persons age 18 and over	650,187	106,880
Persons age 65 and over	31,551	2,202

Source: U.S., Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population, *Puerto Ricans in the United States*, PC(2)-1E, June 1973, Table 2, pp. 4-5.

Table 16

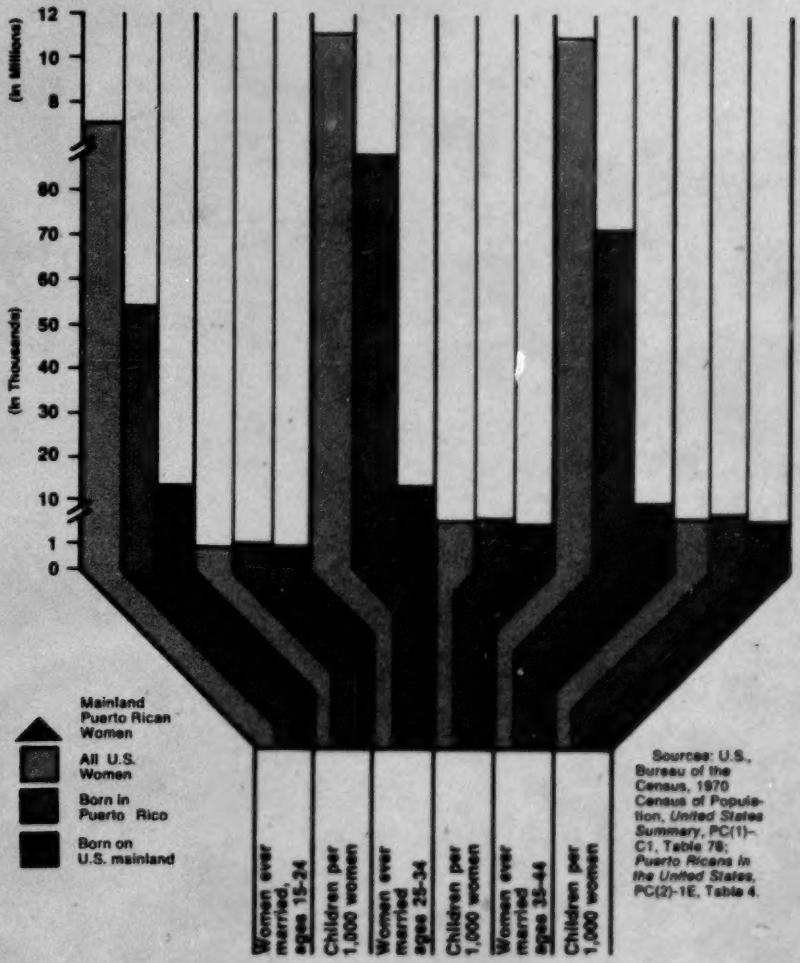
Ethnic Intermarriage of Puerto Ricans in the United States, 1970



Source: U.S., Bureau of the Census, *Puerto Ricans in the United States*, PC(2)-1E, Table 5.

Table 17

Number of Children Born to all U.S. Women and to Mainland Puerto Rican Women, 1970



Sources: U.S., Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population, *United States Summary*, PC(1)-C1, Table 76; *Puerto Ricans in the United States*, PC(2)-1E, Table 4.

socioeconomic characteristics appear to be higher, when compared to those characteristics of the total U.S. population, even second-generation Puerto Ricans lag behind significantly. But we should not lose sight of the fact that the U.S.-born portion of the Puerto Rican mainland community is still extremely young. Most of the adults, responsible for family support in this crisis-ridden economy, are migrants from Puerto Rico, handicapped by language and a shrinking job market. They have immediate problems which must be addressed now, if their U.S.-born children (who hold such great promise for the future) are not to be irremediably scarred by poverty. One of these major problem areas ("Jobs and Income") is discussed in the following chapter.

Notes to Chapter One

1. Puerto Rico lies 1,600 miles southeast of New York City, a 3–1/2 hour trip via jet plane.

2. See Bibliography for selection of books that offer socioeconomic and historical background data on Puerto Rico.

3. At the time, only Puerto Rico and Cuba remained of Spain's once vast empire in the Western Hemisphere, and the Cubans were engaged in a bloody, protracted war for independence.

4. Art. II and Art. IV, Treaty of Paris, 30 Stat. 1754 (1899).

5. 48 U.S.C. § 733 *et seq.* (1970) originally enacted as Act of Apr. 12, 1900, 31 Stat. 77).

6. 48 U.S.C. § 731 *et seq.* (1970) (originally enacted as Act of Mar. 2, 1917, 39 Stat. 951).

7. The Insular Cases: De Lima v. Bidwell, 182 U.S. 1 (1901); Downes v. Bidwell, 182 U.S. 244 (1901); Dooley v. United States, 182 U.S. 222 (1901); and Armstrong v. United States, 182 U.S. 243 (1901).

8. 48 U.S.C. §§ 731 (b)-(e)(1970)(originally enacted as Act of July 3, 1950, 64 Stat. 319).

9. Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Puerto Rico, *Compact of Permanent Union Between Puerto Rico and the United States* (San Juan, P.R.:GSA, 1975). House Resolution 11200 was introduced in the U.S. House of Representatives by Resident Commissioner from Puerto Rico Jaime Benitez in December 1975, for the purpose of codifying this compact. Hearings were held in February 1976.

10. Puerto Rico's political and socioeconomic tensions are very complex and cannot be adequately summarized in this volume, which focuses upon the U.S. mainland Puerto Rican community. The reader is advised to consult books listed in the Bibliography for background on Puerto Rico itself.

11. See Table 3.

12. *New York Times*, May 8, 1971.

13. U.S. census data cited in Kal Wagenheim, *A Survey of Puerto Ricans on the U.S. Mainland in the 1970s* (New York: Praeger, 1975), Table 1, p. 71.

14. Robert Ernst, *Immigrant Life in New York City, 1825 – 1863* (New York: King's Crown Press, 1949).

15. Joseph Fitzpatrick, *Puerto Rican Americans: The Meaning of Migration to the Mainland* (Prentice-Hall, 1971), p. 2. Passage by ship between San Juan and New York City was another important means of transportation, especially in the early years.

16. 1960 U.S. Census, *Puerto Ricans in the United States*, Table A, p. viii; and 1970 U.S. Census, *Persons of Spanish Ancestry in the United States*, Table I, p. 1.

17. The strong lure of city life is reflected in 1970 figures showing that 1,358,987 mainland Puerto Ricans lived in urban areas, compared with only 32,000 in U.S. rural areas.

U.S., Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population, *Puerto Ricans in the United States*, PC(2)-1E, Table 2, p. 4.

18. Joseph Monserrat, "Puerto Rican Migration: The Impact on Future Relations," *Howard Law Journal* (Fall 1968).

19. Rita Maldonado, "Determinants of Puerto Rico-United States Migration, 1947 to 1973," (Manuscript, 1975), p. 143. This study was supported by a grant from the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. The study does not necessarily reflect the views of the EEOC.

20. Ibid.

21. The phenomenon of return migration in the 1970s is perhaps the best answer to uninformed allegations that many Puerto Ricans migrate to the mainland to collect welfare, since these payments are more generous on the mainland than they are in Puerto Rico.

22. Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Department of Labor, Migration Division, *Puerto Ricans in the United States* (Pamphlet, 1975) (unpaged).

23. 1970 U.S. Census, *Puerto Ricans in the United States*. Table 1, p. 1.

24. Ibid.

25. Aspira, Inc., *Hemos Trabajado Bien*, a report on the first National Conference of Puerto Ricans, Mexican Americans, and Educators on "The Special Educational Needs of Urban Puerto Rican Youth," (May 14 – 15, 1968), p. 7.

26. Clara Rodriquez, "Puerto Ricans: Between Black and White," *New York Affairs*, vol. 1, no. 4 (1974), p. 94.

27. Ibid.

28. Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Airport Survey, 1957, 1961.

29. U.S., Department of Labor, *A Socio-Economic Profile of Puerto Rican New Yorkers: 1975*, p. 18.

30. U.S., Bureau of the Census, *Persons of Spanish Origin in the United States, November 1969*, Series P – 20, No. 213, February 1971, Table 6, p. 10.

31. Ibid., Table 10, p. 14.

32. These figures are for March 1972. Two years later, the Bureau of the Census reported that 33.2 percent of Puerto Rican families were headed by a woman (*Persons of Spanish Origin in the United States, March 1974*). In times of crisis, family stability is threatened. As Irving Howe has noted of immigrant Jewish families in the early 1900s, "The most severe sign of disturbance was the persistent desertion of families by immigrant husbands. Records of the United Hebrew Charities in New York for fiscal years 1903 and 1904 show that 1,052, or about 10 percent, of the applications for relief came from deserted women.... For years, the *Forward* (a Yiddish newspaper) ran a feature, Gallery of Missing Husbands." Howe, *World of Our Fathers*, p. 62.

Chapter Two

Jobs and Income

THE CURRENT JOBS AND INCOME CRISIS

A March 1975 survey by the Census Bureau (of income the previous year) revealed that Hispanic families in the United States were substantially poorer than the total population of the country, and that Puerto Rican families were the poorest among all Hispanics.

While median family income for the 55 million families in the United States was $12,836, this nation's 2.5 million Hispanic families had a median income of only $9,559.

But even this low amount masked significant disparities within the Hispanic population:

- The 1.4 million families headed by persons of Mexican origin had a median income of $9,496.
- The 644,000 Cuban and other Latin American families had a median income of $11,410.
- Lowest of all was the median income for Puerto Rican families—only $7,629. (See Table 18.)

The same survey showed that 24.2 million American families (11.6 percent of all families in the nation) lived in poverty. The proportion of poverty among Hispanic families was double the national average, but here again great differences exist among the Hispanic groups. While 14 percent of Cuban families and 24 percent of Mexican families were poor, nearly one-third (32.6 percent) of mainland Puerto Rican families were mired in poverty. (See Table 19.)

In New York City, for example, 85 percent of the city's 1 million Puerto Ricans live in low-income neighborhoods of the Bronx, Brooklyn, and Manhattan. Some of these areas include the worst slums in the nation.

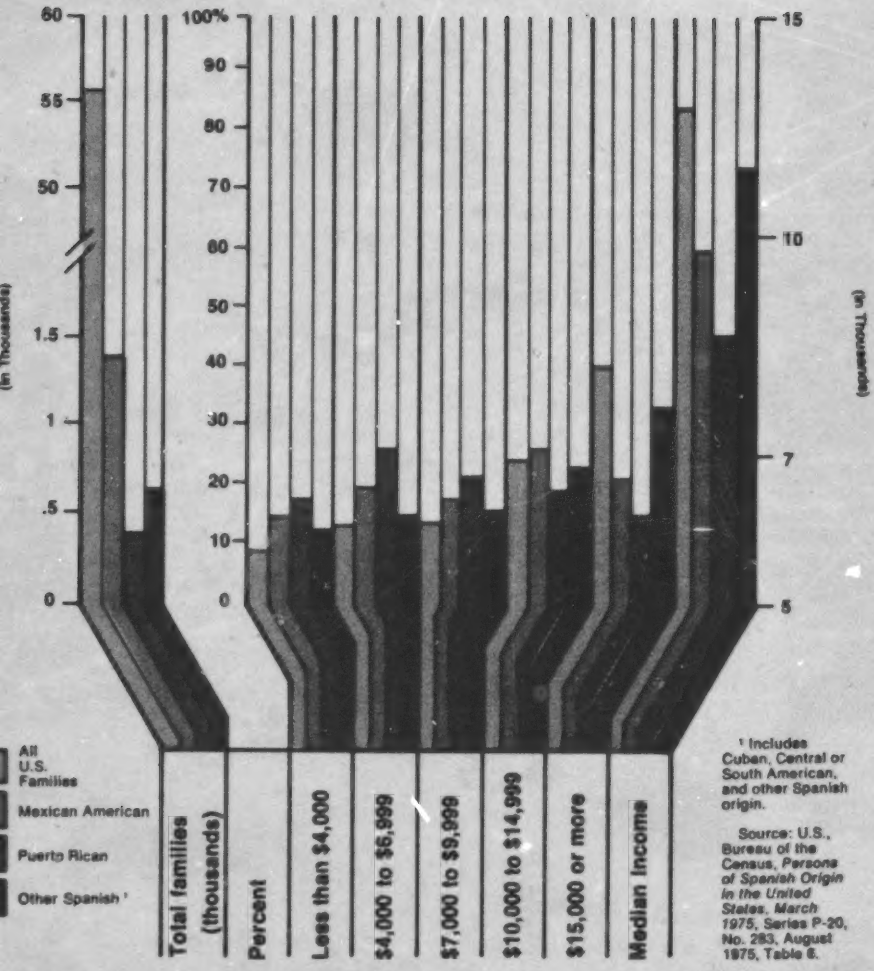
A Puerto Rican government official in New York stated that many Puerto Rican families in the South Bronx and the lower East Side were:

> living with their children in areas that resemble the ruins of postwar Europe, but without the hopes of a domestic Marshall Plan.[1]

Recently emerging local Puerto Rican leadership has advocated self-help and economic development as the solution to the problems of the South Bronx. Councilman Ramon Velez (representing the South Bronx) has written:

Table 18

Family Income in 1974

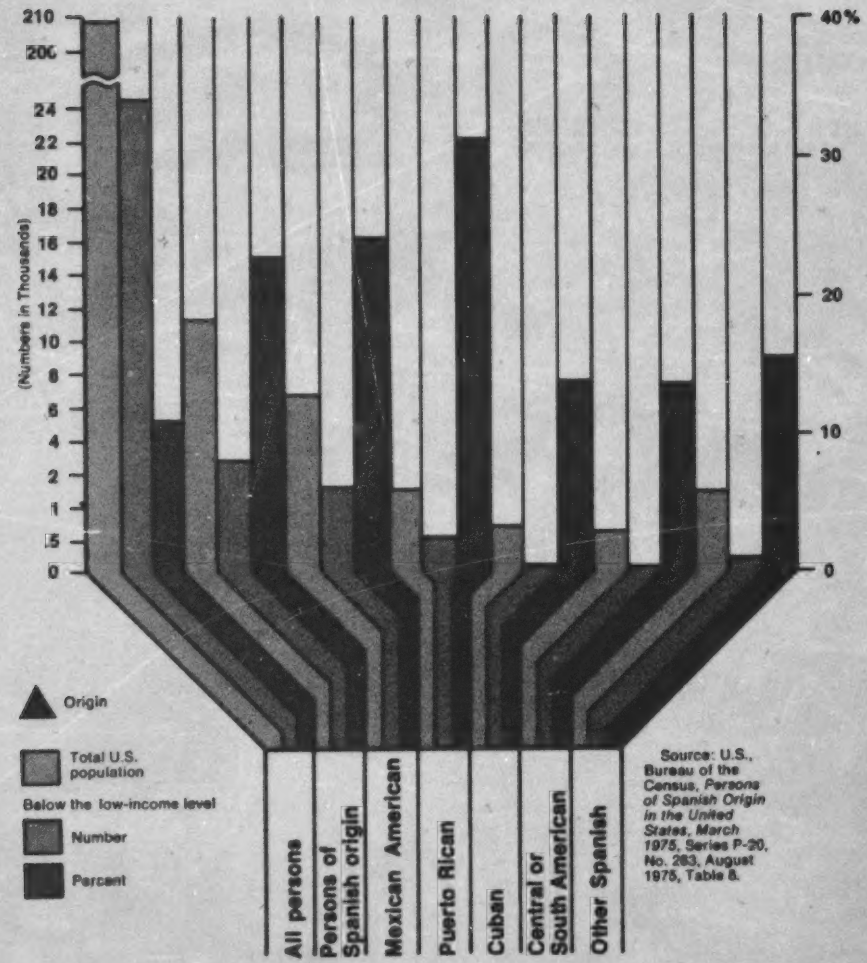


¹ Includes Cuban, Central or South American, and other Spanish origin.

Source: U.S., Bureau of the Census, *Persons of Spanish Origin in the United States, March 1975*, Series P-20, No. 283, August 1975, Table 6.

Table 19

Low Income Status in 1974



Source: U.S., Bureau of the Census, *Persons of Spanish Origin in the United States, March 1975*, Series P-20, No. 283, August 1975, Table 8.

How much healthier it is for the giver to use his money to create jobs which will put the recipient "in the way of business, so that he may earn an honest livelihood...."

The community, the Government and the private sector are working together in the South Bronx to achieve this goal. Although much has been done, much more has not even been started. In this period of economic depression, any and all efforts to induce industry to stay here, convince new industry to move here, and to start new commercial ventures can only have a healthy effect on this community.[2]

Furthermore, despite the "War on Poverty" of the 1960s, and despite Federal and State equal opportunity laws, Puerto Rican families are falling behind the national income average, as illustrated by the median family income figures shown in Table 20.

Puerto Rican family earnings were 71 percent of the national average in 1959. But, in subsequent years, while they have continued to increase their incomes, they have fallen progressively behind. In 1974 Puerto Rican family earnings were only 59 percent of the national average. In relative terms, Puerto Ricans are worse off than they were in 1959, before the Federal Government declared a "War on Poverty."

This slippage or deterioration may be partly due to the nationwide recession, which has hit minority groups with extra severity. The percentage of Puerto Rican families living in poverty has climbed from 29 percent (in 1970) to nearly 33 percent (1974).[3]

But the recession cannot be the sole cause since the slippage was evident as early as 1969—before the recession began. One meaningful index of economic well-being is the number of persons per family with earned incomes. Figures for 1959 and 1969 shown in Table 21 illustrate drastic slippage for Puerto Rican families.

Although Puerto Rican family income in 1959 was well below the national average, the profile of the typical Puerto Rican family coincided closely with the typical U.S. family. Less than 10 percent of the Puerto Rican families had no income earners, nearly half had at least one earner, and more than 43 percent had two earners or more. But, 10 years later, the situation had changed: nearly one-fifth of the Puerto Rican families had no income earners (more than twice the national average), and only 35 percent had two or more earners (compared with more than 50 percent for the total U.S. population).

Sources of Income: The deteriorating economic position of mainland Puerto Ricans can be better understood when one compares its sources of income with those of the total United States population. According to the 1970 census, more than 15 percent of U.S. families received income from

self-employment (independent businesses), compared with less than 4 percent of the Puerto Rican families. While about 5 percent of all U.S. families depended to some extent upon public assistance or public welfare income, this was the case for 24.5 percent of the Puerto Rican families. The 1970 Census showed that 79,863 Puerto Rican families received approximately $188.9 million in public assistance or welfare payments. Despite this gloomy picture of high welfare dependence, it should be noted, however, that the majority of the Puerto Rican families (more than 250,000) were self-supporting and had earnings of nearly $2 billion.[4] (See Table 22.)

True Unemployment Figures: Unemployment among mainland Puerto Ricans is higher than the national average, but the official figure does not reflect the true extent of unemployment. In 1972, for example, the Bureau of the Census reported that 6 percent of all U.S. males were jobless, compared with 8.8 percent of Puerto Rican males. Among women, the national figure was 6.6 percent, compared with 17.6 percent of Puerto Rican women.

However, official unemployment figures are based on that percentage of the labor force which is jobless. The labor force figure used by the Census Bureau includes only adult persons who are either employed or *actively seeking employment*. This definition does not take into account a large, growing number of persons who have stopped looking for work because they have lost hope of finding it.

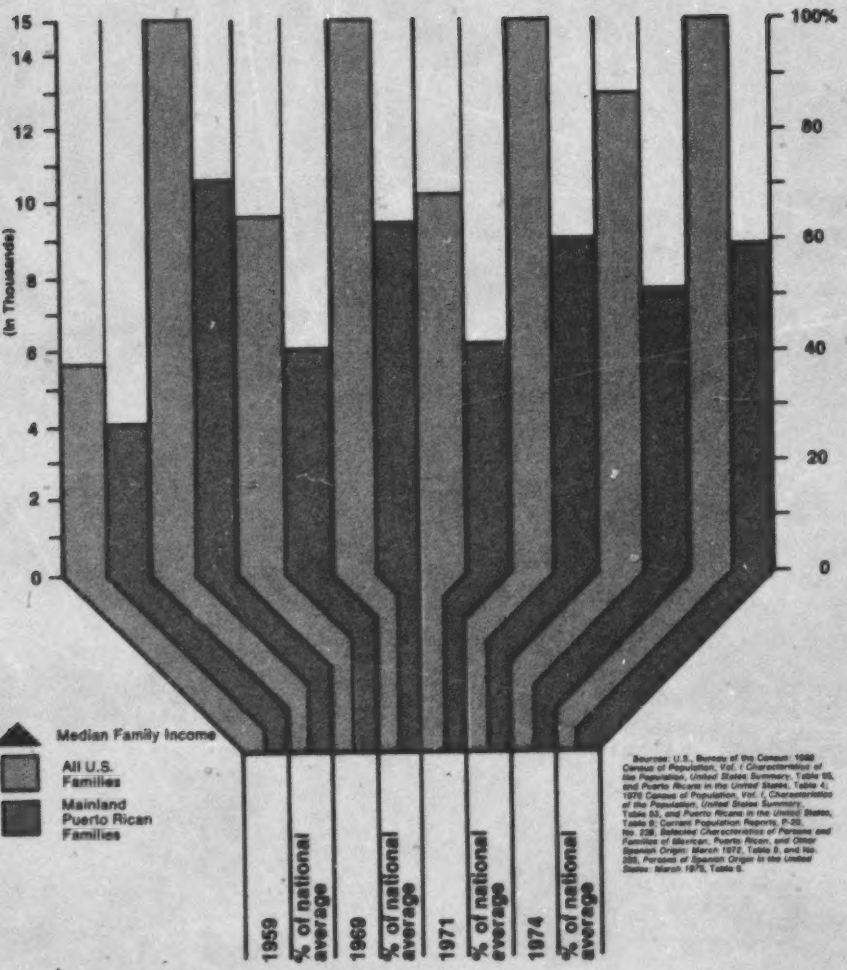
For example, while 86 percent of all U.S. adult males are part of the labor force (working or actively seeking work), only about 76 percent of of Puerto Rican males are so defined. While nearly 50 percent of all U.S. women are in the labor force, only 32 percent of Puerto Rican women are in the labor force. (See Table 23.)

These estimates follow with an earlier report by the U.S. Department of Labor (1966) which stated:

> ...increasingly it is clear that the unemployment rate which counts those unemployed in the sense that they are actively looking for work and unable to find it gives only a *relatively superficial* index of the degree of labor market maladjustment that exists in a community. The subemployment rate also includes those working only part-time when they are trying to get full-time work; those heads of households under 65 years of age who earn less than $60 per week working full-time; and those individuals under 65 who are not heads of households and earn less than $56 per week in a full-time job; half the number of "nonparticipants" in the male 20 – 64 age group; and an estimate of the male "undercount" group, which is of very real concern in ghetto areas.

Table 20

Median Family Income



Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census: 1960 Census of Population, Vol. I Characteristics of the Population, United States Summary, Table 95, and Puerto Ricans in the United States, Table 41, 1970 Census of Population, Vol. I, Characteristics of the Population, United States Summary, Table 53, and Puerto Ricans in the United States, Table 9; Current Population Reports, P-20, No. 238, Selected Characteristics of Persons and Families of Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Other Spanish Origin: March 1972, Table 9, and No. 265, Persons of Spanish Origin in the United States: March 1973, Table 9.

Table 21

Family Members Earning Money, 1959 and 1969

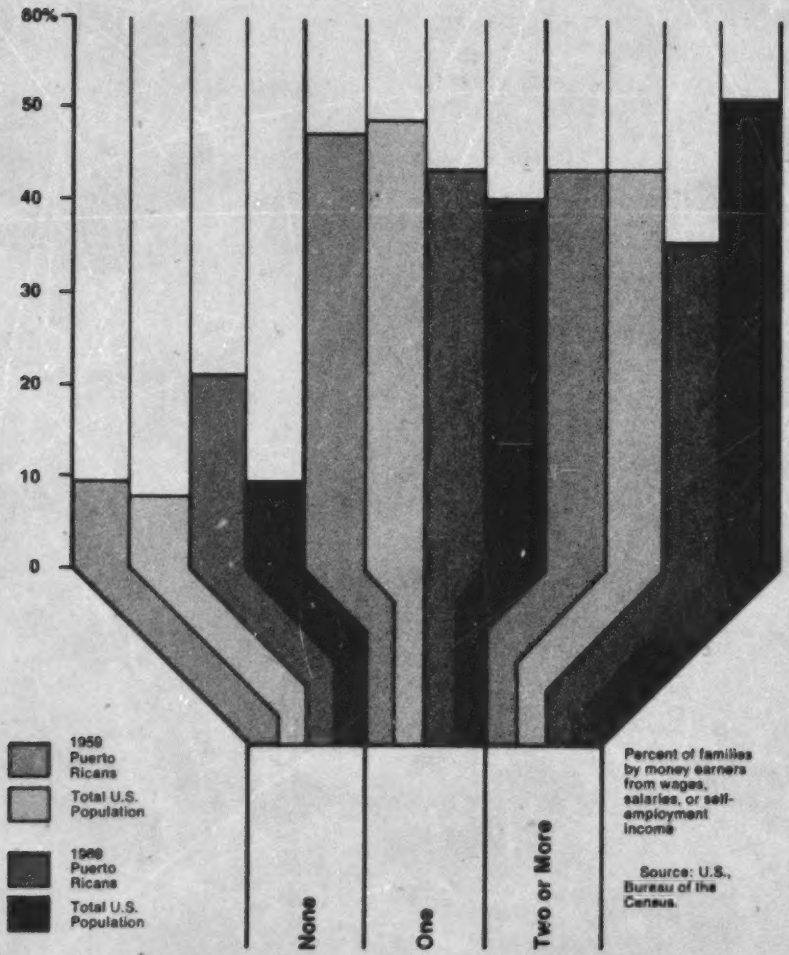


Table 22

Sources of Family Income
Puerto Rican and Total Population: United States, 1970

Number and Percent of Families by Sources of Income, and Average (Mean) at Each Level, 1970[1]	Puerto Ricans		Total Population	
Wages or Salaries	254,133	77.8	44,134,271	86.2
Average	$7,479	—	$10,170	—
Nonfarm self-employment income	11,369	3.5	5,460,817	10.7
Average	$6,490	—	$8,186	—
Farm self-employment income	553	0.2	2,369,558	4.6
Average	$3,897	—	$3,462	—
Social Security income	26,282	8.1	10,070,743	19.7
Average	$1,490	—	$1,626	—
Public assistance or public welfare income	79,863	24.5	2,719,074	5.3
Average	$2,366	—	$1,298	—
Other Income	34,636	10.6	17,945,700	35.1
Average	$1,607	—	$2,097	—

[1] Percentages do not add to 100.0 because certain families receive more than one type of income.

Source: U.S., Bureau of the Census.

> When these four components are added to the traditional unemployment rates, the dimensions of the problem begin to take shape. We find that the subemployment rate for Puerto Ricans in slum areas in New York is *33.1 percent* in contrast with the 10 percent (official) unemployment rate. Indeed, in the areas of Puerto Rican concentration—East Harlem—it rises to 37 percent. In other words, for every officially counted unemployed Puerto Rican worker, there are at least *two others* who have a very real problem in terms of labor force maladjustment.[5] [Emphasis added]

Occupation : Puerto Rican workers are heavily concentrated in low-skilled, blue-collar jobs. Furthermore, many Puerto Rican workers are employed in declining areas of New York's light industry (labor intensive) and are subject to layoffs or seasonal employment.

Nationwide, in 1970 more than 33 percent of Puerto Rican male workers and 39 percent of the women were operatives, which includes factory workers, dressmakers, and seamstresses. The second major category for males is services, which includes restaurant and custodial workers. For women, the second largest group is involved in clerical work. (See Table 24.)

Viewed by industry, in 1960 about 55 percent of Puerto Rican workers were employed in manufacturing, but this share dropped to 41 percent in 1970. The decline coincides with a drastic loss of jobs in New York City's apparel industry. (See Table 25.)

When compared with the total U.S. population, it is also clear that Puerto Ricans are underrepresented in high-skill, white-collar work. Even in the "better" occupations, Puerto Ricans are grouped near the bottom of the earning scale. Those in professional and technical work are primarily technicians. Puerto Rican managers and administrators are mostly in wholesale and retail trade, rather than in manufacturing or with large corporate organizations. Among persons in sales, Puerto Ricans are mostly retail clerks rather than insurance or real estate agents. In the clerical field, they are usually clerks, typists, and machine operators rather than secretaries.[6]

In New Jersey, it has been estimated that 68 percent of employed Puerto Ricans hold low-paying jobs.[7] In Newark, according to the 1970 Census, 63 percent of the Puerto Rican workers were operatives and laborers.[8]

In New Haven, Connecticut, Puerto Ricans are "grossly underemployed, and usually limited to low level, unskilled jobs with little hope for advancement."[9] More than 78 percent of Puerto Ricans and other Hispanics in the city were in semiskilled or unskilled jobs, and in nearby Bridgeport, unemployment among Hispanics reached 30 to 40 percent in 1974, compared with 8.8 percent for all residents of the area.[10]

Table 23

Official and Adjusted Unemployment for Total U.S. Population and Puerto Ricans in the United States, March 1972

(in percent)

Age and Sex	U.S. Total			Puerto Ricans in United States				
	Labor Force Size (number)	Labor Force Participation Rate	Unemployment	Labor Force Size (number)	Labor Force Participation Rate	Official Unemployment	Adjusted Labor Force Size[1] (number)	Adjusted Unemployment Rate[1]
Males, ages 16 to 64	52,900,000	86.0	6.0	295,000	76.6	8.8	331,000	18.7
Females, ages 16 to 64	31,877,000	49.8	6.6	108,000	26.3	17.6	204,000	56.4
Males and females, ages 16 to 64	84,777,000	—	6.2	403,000	—	12.6	535,000	33.0

1 Adjusted figures for Puerto Ricans are based upon labor force participation rates for the total U.S. population.

Sources: U.S., Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population, *Puerto Ricans in the United States*, PC(2)-1E, Table 6, and *United States Summary*, PC(1)-C1, Table 78.

Table 24

Occupations of Employed Puerto Ricans, Age 14 and Over, by Sex, for the United States, 1950, 1960, and 1970

Occupations	1950				1960				1970			
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Number	Percent[1]	Number	Percent[1]	Number	Percent[1]	Number	Percent[1]	Number	Percent[1]	Number	Percent[1]
Total Employed	63,895	100.0	38,930	100.0	181,991	100.0	85,068	100.0	263,735	100.0	123,659	100.0
Professional and Technical	3,355	5.3	1,320	3.4	5,307	2.9	3,384	4.0	12,277	4.7	8,926	7.2
Managers and Administrators	3,450	5.4	465	1.2	6,134	3.4	1,044	1.2	10,970	4.2	1,969	1.6
Clerical	6,160	9.6	4,280	11.0	14,266	7.8	11,824	13.9	27,956	10.6	36,686	29.7
Sales	—	—	—	—	5,261	2.9	2,469	2.9	11,234	4.3	5,477	4.4
Skilled Crafts and Supervisory	7,125	11.2	665	1.7	20,647	11.3	1,650	1.9	41,281	15.7	3,002	2.4
Operatives	21,115	33.0	28,225	72.5	75,299	41.4	56,524	66.4	88,451	33.5	49,038	39.7
Services, Nondomestic	16,040	25.1	2,530	6.5	33,215	18.3	6,186	7.3	46,244	17.5	15,453	12.5
Domestic Service	106	0.2	906	2.3	133	0.1	988	1.2	234	0.1	1,271	1.0
Nonfarm Laborers	4,670	7.3	368	1.0	15,862	8.7	799	0.9	21,201	8.0	1,370	1.1
Farmers and Farm Workers	1,875	2.9	155	0.4	5,855	3.2	250	0.3	3,887	1.5	445	0.4

[1] Percentages do not always add to exactly 100.0 due to rounding.

Source: U.S. Census reports of 1950, 1960, and 1970.

Table 25

Employment by Industry of Employed Puerto Ricans Age 14 and Over, Compared with Total Population: United States, 1960 and 1970[1]

Industry	1960			1970		
	Puerto Ricans		Total Pop.	Puerto Ricans		Total Pop.
	Number	Percent	Percent	Number	Percent	Percent
Total Employed	270,103	100.0	100.0	387,394	100.0	100.0
Agriculture, Forestry, Fishery and Mining	6,974	2.6	8.1	6,048	1.6	4.6
Construction	5,884	2.2	6.2	9,401	2.4	5.8
Manufacturing—Total	(148,236)	(54.9)	(28.2)	(159,993)	(41.3)	(26.0)
Durables	62,880	23.3	15.9	76,697	19.8	15.4
Nondurables	85,356	31.6	12.3	83,296	21.5	10.6
Transportation, Communications and other utilities	11,636	4.3	7.2	23,834	6.2	6.8
Wholesale and Retail Trade	42,327	15.7	19.0	69,966	18.1	20.1
Finance, Insurance and Real Estate	8,195	3.0	4.3	23,639	6.1	5.0
Business and Repair Services	6,074	2.2	2.6	14,660	3.8	3.1
Personal Services	16,575	6.1	6.2	18,115	4.7	4.5
Entertainment and Recreation	1,667	0.6	0.8	2,967	0.8	0.8
Professional Services	16,530	6.1	12.4	44,632	11.5	17.6
Public Administration	6,005	2.2	5.0	13,937	3.6	5.6

1 Excludes persons for whom industry was not reported; due to rounding of decimals, percentages do not always add exactly to 100.0 percent.

Source: U.S., Bureau of the Census.

In Massachusetts, too, "the jobs of Puerto Ricans are those of the dishwasher, delivery man, factory worker, and laundry worker."[11] Some 75 percent of the State's Puerto Rican workers have service jobs or are laborers or operatives. Few are in the building and construction trades, in heavy industrial work, or in civil service positions.[12] In Boston more than 49 percent of the Puerto Rican families have incomes below the poverty level, compared with 16 percent of all families in the city.[13]

The picture is not uniformly bleak. A survey of 23 different cities in New Jersey, for example, showed widely varying levels of income for Puerto Rican families in these communities, ranging from a median family income of $3,266 in Atlantic City to $8,683 for families in Plainfield. But the higher incomes occur in smaller towns or suburban areas, with relatively small Puerto Rican populations that have been upwardly mobile.[14]

Some Puerto Rican families have moved up the socioeconomic ladder. Between 1960 and 1970, for example, the number of Puerto Ricans in professional, technical, managerial, and administrative jobs more than doubled, from 15,869 to 34,016.[15] And the number of Puerto Rican families with income over $15,000 per year increased from less than 1 percent to more than 6 percent.[16]

But these gains are modest when viewed in the larger context. During the same period, the percentage of all families with income of $15,000 or more per year increased from 4.6 percent to 20.6 percent.[17] And, while in 1950 about 10.7 percent of Puerto Rican male workers held professional, technical, managerial, or administrative jobs, this figure declined to 8.9 percent by 1970 due to a continued influx of unskilled or semiskilled persons from Puerto Rico. (See Table 24.)

Thus, the overall job picture for Puerto Ricans remains bleak, in either absolute or relative terms.

Factors Affecting Unemployment and Low Income: About 28 percent of Puerto Rican families are headed by a single parent, a woman. However, among Puerto Rican families living in poverty, nearly 60 percent are headed by a female single parent.[18] This has been largely the result of the combined effects of the dual discrimination of race and sex.

Families headed by a woman tend to earn far less than those headed by a man. In 1975, for example, median income for male-headed families in the United States was $12,965, compared with only $5,797[19] for families headed by a woman.[20] Women tend to be concentrated in low-status, low-paying jobs, and thus earn less when they are working; they also are less likely to be employed or actively seeking jobs.

Able-bodied adults who do not participate in the labor force (by either being employed or actively seeking work) are known as "discouraged

workers." Figures cited earlier in this chapter show that there are many discouraged workers among Puerto Rican women.

The low labor force participation rate among Puerto Rican women is especially crippling to Puerto Rican family income. The need to care for young children and the lack of child care facilities are factors which inhibit the participation of Puerto Rican women in the labor force.[21] Among women with no children under age 18, the participation rate is 41 percent for whites, 43 percent for blacks, and 40 percent for Puerto Ricans. However, when children age 6 to 17 are present in the family, only 30 percent of the Puerto Rican women are in the labor force, compared with 49 percent of white women and 59 percent of black women.[22]

The presence of young children is not the only reason for low employment. Both Puerto Rican men and women are often handicapped by language problems and a lack of marketable skills. For Puerto Rican women, sex discrimination is an added factor. Racial and ethnic discrimination, also difficult to document,[23] certainly are factors in many cases. Another factor worth examining is the job market itself. In 1960 the labor force participation rate for mainland Puerto Rican men and women was higher than it is today. At that time, 79 percent of Puerto Rican men were in the labor force (compared with 76 percent today) and 36 percent of the women (compared with 26 percent today). Since mainland Puerto Ricans today are more literate and more skilled than in 1960, one can only conclude that the job market is far worse.

The Job Market: In a survey of America's 15 largest metropolitan areas, it was found that between 1960 and 1970 the suburbs gained more than 3 million jobs (up 44 percent) while central cities (where most Puerto Ricans reside) lost 836,000 jobs (down 7 percent).[24] New York City during that decade lost 339,000 jobs, and continued to lose jobs during the early part of the 1970s. Between 1969 and 1974, for example, the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the U.S. Department of Labor estimated that New York City lost 316,000 jobs, including 194,000 jobs in manufacturing (the greatest single source of employment for Puerto Ricans).[25]

Why New York City has lost so many jobs was the topic of analysis recently:

> The causes of the [city's] decline are many and complex. Among them are wage rates higher than those that prevail elsewhere in the country, high energy, rent and land cost, traffic congestion that forces up transportation costs, a lack of modern factory space, high taxes, technological change, the competition of newer centers of economic concentration in the Southwest and the West, the *refocusing of American economic and social life in the suburbs.*[26] [Emphasis added]

"Refocusing" of American life in the suburbs, is, to some extent, a euphemism for the flight of middle-class whites from the cities, which are becoming traps for racial and ethnic minorities. Years ago, the central city was society's vital core and the source of employment for newly arrived immigrants. Today, it has become a decaying shell, as choice job opportunities move to suburban areas, out of reach of Puerto Ricans, many of whom can afford neither housing in the suburbs nor automobiles to commute to factories and offices there.

Language as a Barrier: The problems of the Hispanic population may be seen as those of the urban poor in general, but, says one report, "severe language...barriers faced by the Spanish-speaking usually result in the relegation of this second minority to the lowest socioeconomic position on the ladder of poverty."[27]

Limited ability to speak and understand English severely handicaps Puerto Rican mobility in the job market. Many Puerto Ricans rely upon informal channels of communication, rather than radio, television, or newspapers. For example, 60 percent of Spanish-origin workers interviewed in Worcester, Massachusetts, found their jobs through friends or relatives, or "just heard about it." Only 3 percent responded to newspaper advertisements, and only 9 percent were aided by the Massachusetts Division of Employment Security.[28]

Once contact is established with a job source, "inability to speak English eliminates or greatly hampers job opportunities.... Most employment sources do not have applications in Spanish...[or] Spanish-speaking personnel."[29]

Most training programs which might prepare Puerto Ricans for better jobs are offered only in English. Inability to master English makes it "much more difficult ... to assimilate training," and "lack of control of basic English is very often interpreted as a mark of inferior intelligence."[30]

Once on the job, a Spanish-speaking Puerto Rican finds that "it is often difficult to communicate with his supervisor or other employees," which "often leads to an early dismissal."[31]

Upon leaving jobs, Puerto Ricans may miss out on services to which they are entitled. A New York City administrator told Commission staff that Puerto Ricans may be rejected for unemployment insurance benefits, for example, because applications are in English and they may not understand what information is being requested.[32]

Lack of English hurts not only unskilled or semiskilled Puerto Ricans, but also "hampers and cripples the career progress of thousands of Spanish-speaking men and women, doctors and dentists, as well as laborers and clerks."[33] Of those interviewed in the Worcester study, for example, 28 percent felt they possessed skills which they were not able to

utilize in their present occupations. Comparing occupations held prior to coming to the United States with their present jobs, 14 percent of the employed formerly held professional business or white-collar positions, while only 6 percent presently hold such positions.[34]

In Springfield, Massachusetts, 34 of the people questioned had been skilled workers in the service industry, but only 2 currently held such jobs. Fifteen people had been trained for semiskilled jobs in the service industry, but only 3 held such jobs.[35] The Worcester study concluded that the "rate of downward mobility for those formerly in any type of position requiring additional education, training, experience or skill has been 72 percent."[36]

The majority of those Puerto Ricans who suffered this downward mobility spoke only limited English. Language, however, was not the only barrier. Puerto Ricans report that professional degrees or licenses in Puerto Rico, such as those of teachers and nurses, are often not accepted on the mainland. According to the New York State Commission of Education, "Present certification procedures in New York City tend to eliminate qualified Puerto Rican educators."[37]

The end result of these problems caused by lack of English is pressure towards cultural isolation, which further impedes access to jobs and other vital services. The Worcester study observed that low proficiency in English:

> ...may operate as a circular mechanism, causing other problems to feed upon themselves.... If a Latin cannot speak English very well, he may prefer a job in which he can work with other Spanish-speaking residents, and housing near others speaking his native tongue. This, in turn, prevents him from learning English rapidly, which perpetuates his difficulty in locating better jobs, housing or other opportunities.[38]

A special report (issued February 1976) of a conference held by the National Commission for Manpower Policy on employment problems of low income groups noted that: "At all levels of government, there has been inadequate attention to the critical handicap that Spanish-speaking people face because of their language barrier. There is a need to recognize that without a working knowledge of English, a person's ability to get and hold a job, more particularly a good job, is very slim."[39]

Lack of Work Experience: Many Puerto Ricans arrive on the mainland with with little or no work experience. In New York, according to one study, "unlike previous immigrant groups, the majority of (Puerto Rican) migrants reported no work experience."[40]

In another survey of 500 Puerto Rican families on New York's lower East Side, 55 percent of the 208 mothers interviewed had never been

employed. Only 12 percent of this group considered themselves employable. Two-thirds of the mothers who were working, or had been employed, listed themselves as factory workers. One of seven was in the service industry. None had jobs at the managerial or professional level.[41]

Of the 118 fathers present in the households, 92 percent were employed. Two-thirds held jobs in factories or in the service industry. Except for eight former farm laborers, all held the same type of jobs as in Puerto Rico. Only 20 percent of the men had ever received job training on the mainland.[42]

Without useful job experience or training, entry into better occupations is difficult. Automation and rising demands for skilled labor have "seriously narrowed" the avenues for upward mobility for Puerto Ricans, according to one study:

> The Puerto Rican arriving in the city in recent years has not been able to sell his muscle and motivation as had previous groups of newcomers, such as the Irish and Italians.... The new migrant is faced with a paucity of jobs, and those available do not require what he has to offer. He finds that there is only a market for skilled professional and white collar workers, who seem to have exclusive priority to all the things he desires....[43]

Transportation: Lack of transportation between home and job is yet another factor. In recent years, new job opportunities, except for those in the service sector, have tended to occur "at a considerable reverse commuting distance from those central-city residents most in need of them, while public transit systems are not always equipped to meet the rising demand for reverse commuting facilities."[44]

This "geographical mismatch" of jobs and willing workers is aggravated by the fact that few inner-city residents can afford housing in the suburbs. Furthermore, few inner-city residents even learn about suburban jobs.[45]

Even if an inner-city Puerto Rican learns of a suburban job and is qualified for it, lack of transportation may pose a barrier to employment.[46]

In Chicago, for example, public transportation does not extend beyond the city's borders. In late 1974, with layoffs increasing at such Chicago companies as Zenith, Western Electric, and Admiral, the first question asked Puerto Rican job applicants had become, "Do you have a car?"[47]

In Boston "virtually no public transportation" existed between Hispanic neighborhoods and new job sites outside the city. High suburban rents and discrimination were barriers to moving closer to these job sites.[48]

For those Puerto Ricans working in Boston, other problems related to public transportation arise:

As the "second minority," Puerto Ricans often take employment in factories and frequently work evening or night shifts. Public transportation systems may not run to the job center and even when they do, must stop operating shortly after midnight. For the Latin who speaks little English...the process of reading time schedules and route signs and asking questions of English-speaking bystanders poses an almost insurmountable problem.[49]

Discrimination: Even after taking into account these factors (language, lack of skills, transportation, etc.), the evidence is compelling that racial, ethnic, and sex discrimination are barriers to job opportunities for Puerto Ricans.

In 1970 all American adults with a high school diploma earned a median income of $9,091, while Hispanic adults with similar diploma earned only $7,980. Among all Americans with 1 or more years of college, median income was $11,887, compared with only $9,114 for Hispanics with 1 year of college or more. A Federal Government study has concluded that "These income differentials undoubtedly reflect to some degree the discrimination in hiring and promotion which confronts Spanish-speaking workers."[50] What is true for Hispanics in general is even more pronounced for Puerto Ricans, who are the most disadvantaged Hispanic group.

As this Commission has noted, employment discrimination is not only "the result of isolated instances of bigotry but of seemingly neutral practices such as word-of-mouth recruitment systems and employment tests, which have had a far more adverse impact on minority groups and women."[51]

Institutional discrimination occurs in the personnel operations of both the public and private sectors. In 1963, for example, Puerto Ricans were 9 percent of New York City's population, but held less than 3 percent of the city government's 177,000 jobs.[52] By 1971, more than 10 percent of the city's population was Puerto Rican. They held only 6 percent of the 300,000 jobs in city government, and had far less access than blacks or whites to high-paying jobs. Only 3 percent of the administrators and 2 percent of the professionals were Puerto Rican.[53] In 1974, only 500 (1.8 percent) of the city's 30,000 police officers were Hispanic.[54]

In 1972 one-third of all Puerto Ricans in New York City government earned less than $7,300 per year, compared with 20 percent of other Spanish-origin persons, and only 3 percent of all white employees. Only 2 percent of the Puerto Rican city employees earned $13,000 or more per year, compared with 10 percent of other Spanish-surnamed workers and 15 percent of white workers.[55]

In 1972 Puerto Ricans were 5 percent of New York State's population. They held only 2 percent of the 171,000 State government jobs. In 1970 Puerto Ricans comprised only 0.6 percent of the 27,000 employees at the State University of New York (SUNY). In 1973 the New York Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights declared that SUNY was "grossly discriminating against black and Puerto Rican educators and administrators."[56]

In New Haven, Connecticut, "serious qualitative and quantitative inequities" in municipal government employment practices were viewed as "racially discriminatory, regardless of intent."[57]

In Massachusetts "the schools, State agencies, and employment programs in Boston and Springfield suffer from a continuing lack of Spanish-speaking personnel."[58] In 1972 not one of the 500 social workers in the Boston office of the State department of public welfare was Puerto Rican, and only 1 of 92 social workers at a community service center in Springfield was Puerto Rican.[59]

Similar patterns are found in other parts of the nation. In Chicago in 1974 the rapidly growing Hispanic community accounted for more than 7 percent of the city's population, but only 1.7 percent of city employees.[60] In New Jersey, where Puerto Ricans account for more than 2 percent of the State's population, only 60 (or 1.3 percent) of the 4,588 employees in the State department of labor were Puerto Rican in 1971.[61]

In New York City no Puerto Rican lawyer had practiced before the workmen's compensation board, and none of the arbitrators was Puerto Rican. Three Spanish-language interpreters were "hardly enough to go around," considering that one-third of the cases involved Hispanics.[62]

Access to civil service jobs is often blocked by the unavailability of tests in Spanish. The Massachusetts Civil Service Commission administers tests for 25,000 State and 55,000 local government jobs; in 1971, only two of its tests (one for aide in the division of employment security and the other for hospital interpreter) were administered in Spanish.[63]

Other arbitrary requirements (such as physical height) also block Puerto Rican entry to civil service work. In New Haven, Puerto Rican applicants to the police force were often disqualified because they did not measure at least 5 feet, 8 inches tall.[64] Persons seeking jobs in many Connecticut State and city agencies are turned away for lack of a high school education, "even if the candidate is qualified by past work experience."[65]

One Hispanic administrator questioned the validity of these requirements:

> Why should any sanitation worker take a written examination that requires some college education? The only thing you need for garbage collection is a strong back. Why do you have to have a high school diploma to be maintenance man in an airplane? The only things you need are a broom, some soap and a vacuum cleaner.[66]

In New York City, the civil service is perceived as a "mystery" to most Puerto Ricans, and is allegedly "built to keep those in, in, and those out, out."[67]

In Boston, the Federal district court found that the Massachusetts civil service examination for selecting police officers discriminated against blacks and Spanish-origin applicants.[68] The U.S. court of appeals upheld the lower court and ordered the examination revised so as not to discriminate unnecessarily against minority groups. It also ordered that a separate hiring pool be created for minority persons who had passed the revised examination.[69]

Puerto Ricans have also made little headway in gaining access to, or leadership posts in, some New York City labor unions. Fair and equitable representation for "Hispanics is not yet a reality in most referral unions and apprenticeship programs," according to the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.[70]

Another observer has charged that, except for carpenters and bricklayers:

> ...the skilled trades remain practically lily white. In trades requiring less skill, such as excavators, concrete laborers, and mason tenders, for which many black and Puerto Rican workers could immediately qualify, the unions, in collusion with the contractors, and with the tacit approval of the city authorities, have succeeded in restricting employment to just slightly more than a token number of nonwhite union construction workers.[71]

Underrepresentation of Puerto Ricans in building and skilled craft unions was an almost unanimous complaint of Puerto Rican leaders who responded to this Commission's inquiries.[72]

LEGAL ACTION

The courts, in recent years, have become an agent of change for Puerto Ricans and other minority groups. In 1971, for example, the Supreme Court held unanimously that Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 makes unlawful the use of any employment selection standard having an adverse impact on minorities, unless such standard can be demonstrated to be manifestly related to job performance.[73] In defining the nature and degree of required justification for procedures that adversely affect minority groups, the Supreme Court gave "great deference" to the

guidelines issued by the EEOC in 1970, which prohibit the use of English-language tests where they are not job related and where English is not the applicant's primary language. Also prohibited is the application of height and weight requirements to minority persons where these factors are not job related.[74]

Recently a Federal district court judge ruled that the failure of the New York State Department of Labor to employ sufficient numbers of Spanish-speaking personnel and to print bilingual forms and notices is a violation of Federal law if this failure results in fewer benefits and services for the Spanish-speaking unemployed than it does for their English-speaking counterparts. It also is a violation of section 601 of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which bans discrimination "on the grounds of race, color, or national origin" in "any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance."[75]

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES FOR PUERTO RICAN WORKERS

It has been argued that mainland Puerto Ricans would be assimilated into American economic life, just as were other ethnic groups, by an expanding and job-creating economy.

Tragically, the American economy of the 1970s has not expanded; it has contracted and thrown many once-employed citizens out of work. Furthermore, the jobs which are expected to increase in greatest numbers in the future are those which, in the past, were usually beyond the reach of newly arrived immigrants, and are now largely inaccessible to most mainland Puerto Ricans. The leading "job growth" category for at least the remainder of the decade is white-collar professional and technical jobs. They are expected to employ 15.5 million workers by 1980, a 50 percent increase in such jobs over 1968.[76]

The employment problems of Puerto Ricans have persisted for 25 years. As the U.S. Department of Labor has observed, "No conceivable increase in the gross national product could stir these backwaters."[77] The clear implication, of course, is that the mere growth of the economic pie will not assure a larger piece for Puerto Ricans and others suffering chronic poverty.

The ineffectual role of State and local governments in employing Puerto Ricans places in even sharper focus the role of the Federal Government, which possesses the resources to help disadvantaged groups if it so decides. (For example, the Federal Government's Cuban Refugee Program helped to resettle more than a quarter of a million Cubans in the United States, offering services such as job placement, financial assistance, and vocational training.)[78]

Federal equal opportunity programs have two basic goals: (1) to train, counsel, and place disadvantaged jobseekers from minority groups; and (2) enforce laws and Executive orders that deal with job equality.

Both elements are of critical importance to Puerto Rican workers, who urgently need training in skills that will be in demand in the final quarter of this century, and who are blocked by discriminatory barriers in both the private and public sectors of the economy.

Job Training: Job training is a relatively new concept in the United States. The first comprehensive Federal program was created in 1962 by the Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA).[79] The foundation of Federal employment training policy for the next decade, MDTA provided occupational and skill training, research, experimental and demonstration programs, and other related services.

Amended frequently, MDTA was based on the realization that:

> It was the disadvantaged who filled the ranks of the unemployed—those who were discriminated against or were never equipped in the first place to function successfully in the free labor market. The problem was the bottom of the labor barrel, not the top....The unskilled, uneducated inexperienced workers, including those denied experience because of discriminatory hiring practices, were very definitely being left behind.[80]

In 1964 another major program was enacted to aid the disadvantaged unemployed worker. The Economic Opportunity Act, which set up the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) and the "War on Poverty," created new job training programs such as the Job Corps and the Work-Training Program.[81]

Numerous reorganizations occurred in the employment and job training structure between 1964 and 1971.[82] By 1972 the Department of Labor (DOL) operated most of the new training programs through direct grants to public and private entities. These were known as "categorical programs,"" with their own client groups, project designs, and standards and methods of operation. While the programs undoubtedly helped large numbers of unemployed and underemployed persons, they were plagued by administrative problems. Separate project administration was "costly, confusing, duplicative, and inefficient." The programs were "widely viewed as unresponsive to the specific needs of the particular localities."[83]

In 1973 a Labor Department official identified three basic problems with the Federal programs:

1) The individual programs, which emerged via the trial and error process, required the needy individual to adapt to program requirements,

rather than having a variety of service functions packaged to fit his or her needs;

2) National policies did not necessarily coincide with local conditions; and

3) Accountability was almost totally lacking; programs were neither effectively monitored nor evaluated.[84]

After several years of efforts to reform the system, the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) was passed and signed into law in 1973. Its purpose was to provide a new, up-to-date charter for job training programs. The act decentralized and decategorized numerous programs authorized under MDTA and the Economic Opportunity Act. Rather than operate training programs project by project through separate sponsors, under CETA the Secretary of Labor makes "block grants," based upon formula distribution, to about 500 local and State government prime sponsors. The sponsors plan and operate training programs to meet local needs.[85]

The Department of Labor (DOL) is responsible for assuring that prime sponsors comply with provisions of the law. It has special responsibilities for certain groups, among them Native Americans, migrants, criminal offenders, and those with limited English-speaking ability. The latter group includes a large portion of the Puerto Rican and other Hispanic population. The Department is also responsible for the Job Corps program, and for training, research, evaluation, and other functions.

To permit an orderly transition, the act authorized DOL to continue during fiscal year 1974 to provide financial support under earlier statutory authority. Job training programs thus were shifted to State and local governments, consistent with the principles of the new revenue sharing concept.[86]

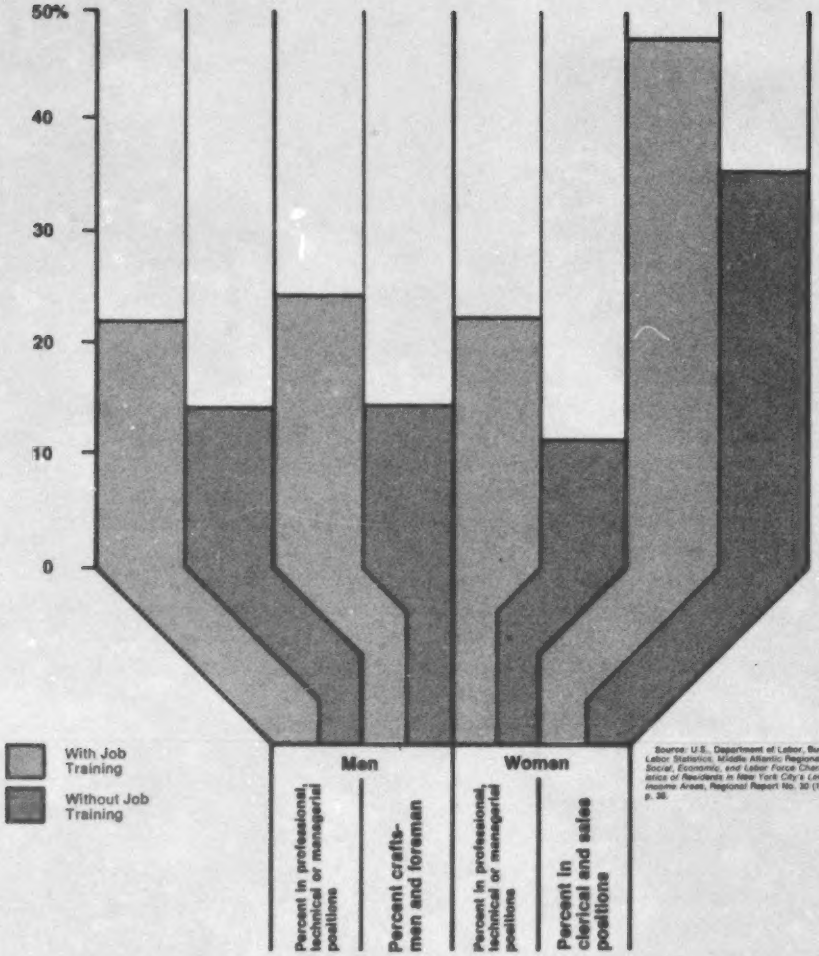
Value of Job Training: Men and women in New York City's low-income areas who received job training were about twice as likely to be in professional, managerial, and technical jobs as those without such training in 1972. Table 26 shows the difference in job achievement for those with and without training.

A survey by the Bureau of Labor Statistics published in 1972 found that about one-eighth of the Puerto Rican labor force in New York City's poverty areas had completed one or more training programs, mainly in school or in the Armed Forces. Unemployment among workers completing such programs was 5.2 percent, compared with 10.3 percent for those without training.[87]

The same survey showed that median hourly earnings of trained Puerto Rican workers were $2.46, compared with $2.08 for all Puerto Rican workers in these poverty areas. Nearly 30 percent of Puerto Rican training

Table 26

Effect of Job Training



Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Middle Atlantic Regional Office, *Social, Economic, and Labor Force Characteristics of Residents in New York City's Low Income Areas*, Regional Report No. 30 (1973), p. 28.

program graduates in New York City were in skilled trades—a proportion three times higher than that for all Puerto Rican workers who were working in such trades during the survey period.

Another study found higher rates of labor force participation and employment for Puerto Ricans with job training. For example, in the 25 – 29 age bracket, 95.9 percent of those with training were in the labor force, compared with 91.8 percent of those without training; 92.3 percent of the training graduates were employed, compared with 86.8 percent of those who received no training.[88]

Still another survey found that Spanish-origin enrollees in MDTA training programs "realized substantially greater...gains in employment and earnings (as compared to their pre-program experience) than either Anglo or black enrollees."[89]

Despite the growing documentation that indicates the importance of job training, relatively few low-income Americans are served by these programs. In 1968, for example, the Federal Government estimated that 11 million Americans (including 3 million in urban slum areas) needed training. At that time, such programs were reaching only 350,000 to 400,000 people.[90] By 1973, it was estimated that some 2.2 million persons in New York State and more than 1 million in New Jersey (both are areas of large Puerto Rican populations) required such services.[91]

The major limitation on the programs was inadequate funding. Many programs were small-scale experiments which could not be enlarged until their effectiveness was proven. Pressures for results led to the selection of trainees who were most likely to succeed, since the weakest candidates (and those most in need of training) might cause high costs and reduce the performance record.[92]

Puerto Ricans and Job Training Programs: In 1970 only 18,600 Puerto Ricans in New York City had completed some type of job training program, contrasted with a total of 300,000 Puerto Ricans in need of training. Half had studied in high school, trade school, or junior college; another 1,200 had received training in the Armed Forces. Only 900 had been served by the Neighborhood Youth Corps, and only 200 had received training in MDTA programs.[93]

Nationwide figures for fiscal year 1973 showed a similarly dismal picture. Of the 119,600 persons enrolled in MDTA training programs, only 1,794 were Puerto Rican.[94]

Such figures dramatize the failure of Federal job training programs to serve Puerto Ricans adequately, and indicate that, at present levels of funding, only a miniscule portion of the needy population will be served in the future.

A Chicago study found that persons of Spanish origin were "underrepresented as program participants, particularly in skill training programs." Training funds were used to provide English as a Second Language (ESL) only as an "isolated, individual" program. Because of inadequate funds, programs were offering "short-duration, semi-skilled occupational training, while higher-skill, longer-duration training in higher-demand occupations is...crucially needed."[8]

The study noted that constraints on Hispanic participation included:

> The lack of parity for Latins, and programs designed specifically for the Spanish-speaking; credibility between outreach and the final programs has widened; decrease in strong training facilities to provide vocational and educational components; little or no concern on the part of local administrators to provide satellite centers for training within barrios; Spanish-speaking now are forced into black centers where they are in the minority and feel unwelcome and cannot relate; little representation on advisory councils and boards by Spanish-speaking representatives and leaders.[9]

Another analysis of job training policies and programs found that:

> Too often [programs] have failed to recognize and deal with the uniqueness of the needs of the Spanish-speaking people. The decisionmakers often do not know enough about the language and cultural characteristics of the people to develop viable and effective programs. The fact that Hispanos speak a foreign language and have different backgrounds is regarded as being their own problem, and the need to establish programs built upon serving people from different cultures is not always recognized....As a result, while the basic idea of training and education for the disadvantaged may be sound, the policy for implementation has built-in deficiencies. There must be an urgent, full-scale effort to develop sufficient numbers of skilled Spanish-speaking policy makers and managers and place them at all levels of the delivery system if manpower programs are to serve the Spanish-speaking effectively.[10]

Probably the most frequent complaint of Puerto Ricans about training programs concerns language. In the February 1972 Commission hearing in New York, Representative Herman Badillo (D.-N.Y.) criticized the lack of bilingual training:

> It doesn't make any sense to be spending a lot of money on poverty programs or model cities programs in order to train people when we do not appropriate funds for training people in Spanish because it is more important, in fact, that training

> be in Spanish for adults who can't speak English, or those that just came from Puerto Rico. They are the ones who desperately need employment and we should have training programs in Spanish so that the adult Puerto Rican community can begin to participate....[98]

In Bridgeport, Connecticut, an aide of the mayor said that he was "not pleased with any manpower program" for the Spanish-speaking. "English is the hump they never get over," and as a result, the "Spanish-speaking are underserved in most programs."[99]

A New York job training specialist believed that the programs were not reaching those who need them most because the programs "are geared to those most able to profit from them. People have to be trained to be trainable."[100]

Some applicants were unable to pass the tests required for entry to training programs. In Chicago, applicants had to pass a Stanford Achievement Test before entry into the CEP program. The CEP program offered on-the-job training opportunities for unskilled Hispanics, many of whom could not read English beyond the fourth grade level. A CEP administrator in Chicago criticized the test as not being job related, as "culturally biased" in favor of "middle-Americans," and generally "irrelevant and immaterial."[101] The problem was reportedly compounded by the fact that the test was administered by English speakers.

The lack of data on Puerto Ricans also limits the effectiveness of training programs for them. An official of the Bureau of Labor Statistics said that a major barrier to an evaluation of the situation was the lack of current information on significant labor force characteristics. He noted:

> There is no group that addresses itself to developing a body of background information on the economic status of the Puerto Rican in the labor market on a continuing basis, and that is almost pitiful. I suspect that you don't have half the awareness of the problems of the Puerto Ricans in New York that you do have, for example, for the other groups, simply because of the lack of availability of data that calls continuous attention to it.[102]

The now defunct U.S. Cabinet Committee on Opportunities for Spanish-Speaking People also noted that data were "fragmented, scattered, hard to obtain, and frequently non-existent....There is no repository of hard data upon which to conduct further analysis that will lead to the development, improvement or betterment of programs for the Spanish-speaking."[103]

At a conference held by the National Commission for Manpower Policy in January 1976 on employment problems of low income groups, one issue of concern was inadequate statistical information on particular groups to determine manpower services. The conference report noted:

> This deficiency is particularly important when such data is used to estimate the numbers and characteristics of minority group members, particularly those who are Spanish speaking or are of Spanish heritage.[104]

The allocation of Federal funds under CETA is based upon available data. Eighty percent of Title I funds are distributed to States and eligible prime sponsors within States according to a formula based on:

(1) the allotment for job training in the previous fiscal year;

(2) the relative number of unemployed; and

(3) the relative number of adults in low-income families.

Accurate figures for the number of Puerto Rican unemployed and poor are thus vitally important in determining CETA allocations. Yet such data are, in many cities, little better than guesses. Dr. Fred Romero, Special Assistant to the Undersecretary for Rural Affairs, Department of Labor, notes that the data reporting systems for CETA "should be better established later in 1976," and thus information about minority participation may not yet be accurate. According to Dr. Romero, data for Puerto Ricans will not be broken out, so Puerto Rican participation in CETA will be difficult to measure.[105]

Most of the complaints against pre-CETA job training programs were supported by a 1971 study which found that:

(1) the proportion of Spanish-origin enrollees in training programs was lower than that for other disadvantaged groups; and

(2) those training programs with the lowest rates of Spanish-origin participation (MDTA Institutional, OJT, NAB/JOBS,[106] and Job Corps) were the major activities in terms of dollars, number of trainees, and opportunities for upgrading skills.[107]

The study noted that monolingual persons and the severely educationally disadvantaged were screened out; that programs were not tailored to unique language and cultural needs; and that few persons of Spanish origin were involved in program planning and administration. Limited budgets permitted only small-scale experiments that reached relatively few participants and the selection of only a handful of sites to serve persons of Spanish origin.

The study faulted all branches of the Federal Government for failing to "enunciate the principle of parity, or fair share, in targeting manpower services on disadvantaged racial and ethnic minorities, with the result that

program administrators have left out the Spanish-speaking." It also criticized the Labor Department for "preoccupation with guidelines" and "lack of clear direction to Regional Offices, the Employment Service, and manpower administrators generally."[108]

The Assistant Secretary for Manpower (Employment and Training), Department of Labor, later claimed that the study resulted in an additional $7 million being set aside by the Employment and Training Administration (ETA) to help assure equity for Hispanics in the programs. The money, he said:

> ...was earmarked for such key items as increased language training and hiring 40 Spanish-speaking staffers in 40 cities to work on the local and state manpower planning councils (CAMPS). The latter action involved the Spanish-speaking in mainline planning of manpower programs at the grassroots levels....The Manpower Administration [recently renamed Employment and Training Administration] also directed the State Employment Service to hire more Spanish speaking individuals and subcontractors to carry out the expanded WIN program....More technical assistance was ordered for Spanish-speaking organizations seeking manpower funds at the local level.[109]

On the other hand, another Labor Department official commented that followup on the report's recommendations was minimal. "Nothing much happened," he said, except for "a few, scattered activities" undertaken largely in response to 1972 election year pressures. The study group "had a hell of a time getting the study "reviewed" in the first place. An "action plan" was announced, but "never did get implemented."[110]

Puerto Ricans and the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA): Many Puerto Ricans with experience in job training programs indicate that the new CETA program offers some promise, at least on paper. They point to Title I, which stipulates that State and local prime sponsors must provide employment and training services, including the development of job opportunities, to those most in need of them, including low-income persons and "persons of limited English speaking ability." In addition, Title III authorizes the Department of Labor to undertake separate special projects, such as the teaching of occupational language skills in the primary language of persons with limited proficiency in English and the development of new employment opportunities.

According to one Labor Department Official of Spanish origin: "Everything the Spanish speaking have been asking for is provided in the act."[111]

The key question to some, however, is whether or not the relationship between the local prime sponsor and Puerto Rican community groups still

in their political infancy will permit sufficient Puerto Rican participation in program planning and administration.[112]

An official in New York City complained that Puerto Ricans were still not getting their fair share because they lack "political clout."[113] It was feared that CETA could "face off Puerto Ricans against blacks" for available resources in many cities.[114] After reviewing several CETA applications, a Labor Department official told Commission staff that it was clear Hispanic community organizations were having a minimal effect on local governments.[115]

The Department of Labor rejected this Commission's recommendation that members of each minority group be represented on CETA planning councils in approximately the same proportions they comprise of the service population. Nor did the Department accept the recommendation that special programs under Title I be developed when persons of limited English-speaking ability constitute 5 percent of the unemployed, underemployed, and poverty level population. A similar suggestion concerning public employment projects under Title II was also turned down.[116]

Concern has also been voiced about funding under the CETA formula. According to several administrators, the formula based on the previous year's pre-CETA employment and training allocation would perpetuate previous shortcomings of such funds in several cities. Moreover, the formula based on the number of unemployed would not include those who have stopped looking for work, a substantial number of whom may be Puerto Rican. And, the formula based on low-income adults would cheat big cities with large concentrations of minorities, a disproportionate number of whom were not counted in the decennial census.

Job training administrators in Boston and Chicago feared that the CETA funding formula would result in a decrease in monies for the nation's large cities in the long run.[117] "All big cities are in the same boat," said a Chicago official, who projected a gradual decline from $32 million to $20 million for Chicago CETA programs.[118] Boston's job training director feared that "big cities will get murdered" by the funding formula, and those most hurt will be persons of Spanish origin in the inner cities.[119]

Both job training administrators stated that CETA money would be disproportionately allotted to suburbs and middle size towns. Thus, Newton, a wealthy "bedroom community" in Massachusetts, would enjoy a 400 percent increase in funds, in contrast to the gradual decreases in funds for large cities where most of the severely disadvantaged reside.[120]

Under CETA, local governments would be hard pressed to show quick results. If job training programs were to face cost-benefit analysis, said a New York official, the client of Spanish origin would be most affected.[121]

CETA deals primarily with the "employables" to get fast results, according to another observer, and thus would not reach the "neediest of the needy" for whom more time and efforts would naturally be required.[122]

Thus, despite the attractive CETA design, Puerto Ricans and some job training administrators voice deep fear that the basic barriers which minimized Puerto Rican opportunities under OEO and Department of Labor training programs will continue to deny them the same vitally needed opportunities under CETA.

The results of the first year of CETA confirm some of these fears. A study prepared for the National Academy of Sciences on the first-year implementation of CETA indicates that, as a result of the economic recession and allowing more suburbs to be prime sponsors, the trend is toward a broader client group that includes older workers and the recently unemployed. Prime sponsors are placing more emphasis on work experience and less on classroom learning and on-the-job training. The more adversely affected by CETA appear to be those most in need in the cities.[123]

Statistics from ETA indicate that CETA enrollees are older, better educated, and less disadvantaged, and that Spanish-speaking participation has declined. During fiscal year 1975, Spanish-speaking participation in CETA was 12 percent under Title I, 16 percent under Title II, and 12.9 percent under Title VI. Through the third quarter of that fiscal year, Spanish-speaking participation in these three Titles was 13.7 percent, 8.5 percent, and 9.7 percent, respectively. Under pre-CETA categorical programs, Spanish-speaking participation was higher (no separate data are available on Puerto Ricans): 15 percent in fiscal year 1974.[124]

In an interview, Dr. Fred Romero indicated that CETA may well be serving greater numbers of Spanish Americans, but that their relative share of resources may be less than before. CETA data, according to Dr. Romero, may not be very accurate. The Department, he said, is trying to get a "better handle" on the problems of the Spanish speaking and that "they [DOL] know that they don't have good information" on the manpower needs of this group.[125]

A study of the impact of CETA revealed that less than 5 percent of the manpower services received by the Spanish speaking was for English as a Second Language (ESL).[126] Dr. Romero noted that the resources for the ESL program under CETA are "woefully inadequate." Funds for these services are given to the prime sponsors for use at their discretion, he said, but the Department does not know how such funds are being allocated.

Dr. Romero said that persons of Spanish origin generally believe that the resources for CETA are inadequate. But, for the most part, those not involved in the administration of CETA programs were more critical.

CETA seems to be serving the Spanish speaking where they reside in large numbers, he said, but small Spanish-speaking communities appear to be ignored in some large cities.[127]

Data on the implementation of CETA are mixed. Some areas have been more successful than others in administering the programs. In Middlesex, New Jersey, Spanish-speaking members of the manpower advisory council thought that the planned number of their group to be served was too low for the area. Recently, a contract was negotiated with a Puerto Rican organization for prevocational training that would raise the number of enrollments.[128] In Newark, New Jersey, community pressure and commitments by elected officials have increased Hispanic (mainly Puerto Rican) participation on advisory councils and manpower planning staffs. Spanish-speaking staff of CETA subcontractors, however, are still underrepresented.[129]

Job Corps: Job Corps, a program aimed as assisting disadvantaged youth, continues under Title IV of CETA. A Job Corps director once observed that, "Many people believe the Job Corps is a second chance for Spanish speaking youth, but that's not true. It's a first chance. And the hardest thing about running this center is knowing that, for some, the chance may be coming too late."[130]

When Job Corps was initially set up, no programs were established for the Spanish speaking, many centers were ill-equipped to deal with persons of Spanish origin, and there were few Spanish-speaking staff. In 1971 only 7.5 percent of the staff (including those in Puerto Rico) spoke Spanish, while 11.7 percent of all Job Corps trainees were of Spanish origin.[131]

Between 1970 and 1972, however, there were some changes in Job Corps: four national centers were redirected to serve the Spanish speaking; three centers were set up in or near barrios, a program to serve Puerto Rican youth in New York City was established, and new guidelines for bilingual instruction and cultural awareness were developed.[132]

Currently, 60 Job Corps centers are in operation. According to statistics from ETA, there were 45,799 new Job Corps enrollees during fiscal year 1975. Spanish-speaking groups were 11.5 percent of the new enrollees; Puerto Ricans enrollees (412) were only 0.9 percent of the total.[133]

Given the need for such job training within the Puerto Rican communities and in light of the severe economic recession, Puerto Rican enrollment in the program would appear to be very low.

According to ETA, Job Corps has sought to be more responsive to new demands and has emphasized, in addition to other activities, "provision of increased opportunities for youth with limited English speaking ability."[134]

Under CETA, manpower services have been expanded to marginal areas where the Spanish speaking were never before represented, but for

many in the inner city, opportunities in Job Corps may very well decrease and be unavailable to those most in need of job training.

Puerto Ricans and the United States Employment Service (USES): Established by the Wagner-Peyser Act of 1933,[135] the United States Employment Service (USES) has been the "operational centerpiece" of the Federal Government's job training system.[136] USES is federally-funded and part of the Employment and Training Administration. Its 2,400 local offices provide testing, counseling, referral to training, job development, job placement, and followup services.

The employment service has been criticized on the grounds that it is "employer oriented" and discriminatory. The Urban Coalition has charged that USES:

> ...mirrors the attitudes of employers in the community. The ES should provide a model of vigilance and aggressiveness toward affirmative action for equal employment opportunity. Instead, it is frequently a passive accessory to discriminatory employment practices; it is widely viewed in that light by the minority community.
>
> The staff of the state employment agencies are hired pursuant to state civil service laws, or in some states, according to state patronage systems. Repeatedly and consistently, evaluation of the state agencies conducted by the Department of Labor has shown that the staffs do not include enough minorities, or a sufficient number of people experienced in dealing with the disadvantaged who can effectively carry out the "employability development" programs.[137]

According to a former Assistant Secretary of Labor:

> The Wagner-Peyser Act...assumes that the Employment Service must provide services to all, to whoever asks for them. Strictly interpreted, this could mean that there should not be a concentration of effort on the disadvantaged. In the sixties, particularly, we rejected that interpretation; nevertheless, it was, and remains, one of the reasons why it has been so difficult to redirect the effort of the Employment Service.[138]

In Boston as well the charge has been made that the employment service, in this case the Massachusetts State Department of Employment Security (DES), was "employeroriented when it should have been "employee-oriented." It did not, therefore, serve the disadvantaged. The city's job training director claimed that since DES funding is based upon the number of people it places, it prefers to work with the "cream" of the employed, and mainly aids veterans and the marginally employed.[139]

According to a Hispanic community organization leader in Boston, no Puerto Rican is in a decisionmaking position at the State department of employment service and there is no Puerto Rican employment counselor.[140]

Puerto Ricans complain that the USES has few Puerto Rican staff, even in cities of considerable Puerto Rican population. In New York and New Jersey, USES services for minority workers are a "crime," according to the regional job training director. He noted that the USES staff had grown by 25 percent in New York and 40 percent in New Jersey, but the increase included relatively few minority workers since the USES claimed that it could not find "qualified people."[141] In Chicago, the number of staff persons of Spanish origin has reportedly increased, but it is still small.[142]

Staff at New York's Puerto Rican Community Development Project (PRCDP) said that the employment service continually referred clients to their office because of insufficient Spanish-speaking staff.

PRCDP had only a few training programs, all of which operated without stipends for trainees. The ES, on the other hand, had access to the full range of job training programs. PRCDP was not authorized under existing legislation to certify their clients as being disadvantaged for the purpose of establishing eligibility for placement in NAB/JOBS contract training slots. Puerto Ricans must be certified either by the New York ES or by the city Manpower Career Development Agency (MCDA), coordinator of all city job training programs. Neither of those units were satisfactory to Puerto Ricans, who believed that MCDA deliberately excluded them.[143]

The program director of an Hispanic neighborhood employment center in Chicago complained that the Illinois State Employment Service "does not come here to look for people. No Federal or other organization comes to this office, [which is] visited by 4,500 Puerto Ricans in one month."[144]

Another serious aspect of this communication gap between the ES and the Hispanic neighborhood employment office is that the Chicago Civil Service Commission does not provide the ES with job announcements. The personnel director of the Chicago commission stated, "We don't expect minorities to come to us through the State Employment Service. Only a small percentage of people are placed through the ES."[145]

It was pointed out by job training officials that the lack of birth certificates, Social Security cards, or proper identification often hurts Puerto Rican job applicants. New York City is "credential happy," according to one official. "I don't care whether you can do the job. If you haven't got that piece of paper, they are going to hold it against you."[146]

For all of these reasons, Puerto Ricans appear to utilize employment service offices far less than would be expected, given their high

unemployment rates and comparatively greater lack of skills. The Department of Labor has observed that "use of the State Employment Service by the Spanish-speaking was greater than their representation in the population, but less than their presence among the poor."[147] To many Puerto Ricans, the USES along with the Government's job training programs are simply examples of governmental neglect and exclusion of Puerto Ricans. The Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights under Law concluded that:

> The experience of dealing with this insensitive [ES] bureaucracy in many States has generated mistrust, hostility, and discouragement among the disadvantaged and resulted in more individuals dropping out of the labor force, thereby contributing to the very problem the manpower programs were designed to solve.[148]

Puerto Ricans and Public Service: In November 1975, there were 79,917 full-time employees of Spanish origin in the Federal Government. This was 3.3 percent of the total number of Federal employees, up from 3.2 percent in 1973 and 3.0 percent in 1972.[149] Hispanic employment in the top three career grades (GS-16, 17, and 18) increased from 35 in November 1974 to 37 in November 1975. No separate data exist on Puerto Rican Federal employees, but one must assume that the ratio is also disproportionately low.

The underrepresentation of Puerto Rican and other Hispanic workers in the Federal civil service works against these American citizens in important ways. The Massachusetts Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights reported, "One of the big problems with the Federal effort in New England to assist the Spanish-speaking community is the lack of Spanish-speaking and Puerto Rican employees....A total of 30 Spanish-speaking and Puerto Rican employees are on a regional staff of 4,800."[150] HEW's regional staff of 1,700 included 12 Spanish-origin employees (six clerical and six professional).[151]

There are no top ranking administrators of Spanish origin in the Employment and Training Administration of DOL. In a memorandum dated May 13, 1976, the Secretary of Labor noted that, while some progress has been made in hiring persons of Spanish origin, "we must improve our efforts in recruitment, hiring, and promotion of Spanish Speaking Americans at all levels throughout the Department."[152]

The U.S. Civil Service Commission (CSC) is the compliance agency for ensuring equal employment opportunity (EEO) in the Federal Government. The 1972 Equal Employment Opportunity Act broadened its leadership role and enforcement of EEO matters. It is "fully

empowered to direct agency activities to end systematic discrimination and thereby significantly increase the number of minorities in professional and policy-making positions."[153]

In 1970 the President announced a new program to assist persons of Spanish origin to join the Federal civil service. The program included an intensified drive to recruit persons of Spanish origin and the appointment of a full-time Civil Service Commission official as overseer. A key element in the recruitment effort was to promote recognition of the importance of bilingual ability in Federal Government positions involving contact and communication with Spanish-speaking people. Bilingualism was especially useful for informing Spanish-speaking veterans of the availability of noncompetitive appointments, disseminating information about Federal job opportunities to high school and college students in Spanish-speaking areas, as well as providing information about various benefit programs (Social Security, unemployment compensation, etc.). The Civil Service Commission has had the responsibility for implementing the program.

Agencies have too often failed to search out patterns of employment bias, preferring instead to respond to individual complaints. The Civil Service Commission has not conducted a systematic review of practices that have an adverse impact on women and minorities, nor has it brought its own standards into conformity with those required of private and State and local government employers under Title VII. The CSC does not require Federal agencies to develop numerical goals and timetables to increase minority and female employment.[154] There has been "no extensive effort to evaluate and direct improvement of the Federal upward mobility training program," which is of major interest to Puerto Ricans,[155] nor does CSC separate its Spanish-surnamed employment category into Puerto Rican or other groups of Spanish origin.

Perhaps most serious among deficiencies that affect persons of Spanish-origin is that the Civil Service Commission has refused to validate its tests according to the standard used by EEOC, OFCC, and the Department of Justice, and approved by the Supreme Court in *Griggs* v. *Duke Power Co.* Thus, the test problem poses the same barrier to Federal employment as to State and local government jobs.

In light of this record, Puerto Ricans have developed an attitude of suspicion and alienation toward the Federal Government. A New York City community leader summarized this attitude:

> ...the Puerto Rican does not go into Federal Service *pro forma* or through the normal route. He does not know a specific job exists that he may qualify for. He does not receive this information

> through the media he relates to. Furthermore, he distrusts his acceptance by Federal agencies. He has personally experienced or has heard a pattern of rejection by the Federal Service Entrance Examination route. If he makes an initial probe, he runs into a maze of bureaucratic procedures which lock him out. He also sees few role models or possibilities for moving up a career ladder. In his mind, Federal jobs and promotion are largely a function of political patronage systems.[156]

Some affirmative action plans to increase Puerto Rican and other minority employment have been announced. Boston has adopted an affirmative action plan to raise Hispanic public employment in each city department to 4 percent, and a Mayor's Commission on Spanish Affairs was formed.[157] The Governor of Connecticut in 1972 appointed a Council on Spanish-Speaking Opportunities "to review and analyze... legislation and regulations regarding minority rights as they relate to the Spanish."[158]

In New York, 31 State agencies now have affirmative action programs for minority hiring, monitored by the State human rights commission, which include a Puerto Rican commissioner and Puerto Ricans in all 14 regional offices.[159]

However, implementation of court decisions and affirmative action plans has been painfully slow.[160] In Illinois, for example, despite the Governor's 1973 executive order requiring affirmative action, the State government hired only 112 Hispanics during 1973 – 74, representing only 1.5 percent hired. This meant that, while Hispanics were 3.3 percent of the Illinois population, they held only 0.9 percent of State government jobs.[161]

Furthermore, few Puerto Ricans have made use of the services of State and local human rights agencies. A New York community leader observed:

> To begin with, the majority of Puerto Ricans do not even know these Commissions exist. Not only are the offices of these Commissions located at a point in the city where few Puerto Ricans have a reason to visit, but the Commissions as a rule do not make sufficient use of the Spanish communications media.... Many of the Puerto Ricans...are afraid to complain, usually because of their language handicap, but even those who complain are soon discouraged. They either get shoved around from desk to desk or they have to wait long hours. And even when they complete the arduous and complex complaint procedure, the case is either dismissed as having no probable cause, or positive action is so long in forthcoming that he simply gets another low-paying job.[162]

Underrepresentation of Puerto Ricans in public service work is a major discriminatory barrier and undermines the basic concept of equal opportunity.

Notes to Chapter Two

1. Rafael Torregresa, National Director, Migration Division, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, at hearings of the Joint Economic Committee of Congress in New York City, Nov. 10,1975.

2. *Cornucopia* (Hunts Point Community Development Corporation), Vol. III, No. 1 (September/October 1975), p. 6. See also, *New York Times*, Feb. 13, 1975, p. 35.

3. U.S., Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population, *Puerto Ricans in the United States*, Table 9, p. 89, and *Persons of Spanish Origin: March 1975*, Table 6, p. 7.

4. Based on a conservative estimate, their income tax payments would range from $200 to $300 million.

5. U.S., Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Labor Force Experience of the Puerto Rican Worker*, Regional Report No. 9 (June 1968), pp. 25 – 26 (hereafter cited as *Labor Force Experience*). Report is based on a presentation by Herbert Bienstock, regional director, BLS, before the workshop on "Puerto Rican Employment Problems," sponsored by the Center for the Study of the Unemployed, New York University, May 20, 1968.

6. U.S., Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *A Socioeconomic Profile of Puerto Rican New Yorkers*, p. 81.

7. Puerto Rican Congress of New Jersey, *Socio-Economic Profile of New Jersey Puerto Ricans* (1972), p. 2.

8. *Puerto Ricans in the United States*, Table 25, p. 117.

9. Connecticut Advisory Committee (SAC) to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *El Boricua: The Puerto Rican Community in Bridgeport and New Haven*(January 1973), p. v (hereafter cited as *Connecticut SAC Report*).

10. Ibid., p. 2.

11. New England Regional Council, *Overview of the Problems Encountered by New England's Spanish-Speaking Population* (July 7, 1970), p. 2 (hereafter cited as *Overview of the Problems Encountered*).

12. Massachusetts Advisory Committee (SAC) to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Issues of Concern to Puerto Ricans in Boston and Springfield* (February 1972), p. 25 (hereafter cited as *Massachusetts SAC Report*).

13. *Puerto Ricans in the United States*, p. 118. (This was the highest poverty rate for Puerto Ricans in any major U.S. city.)

14. Kal Wagenheim, *A Survey of Puerto Ricans on the U.S. Mainland in the 1970's* (New York: Praeger, 1973), Table 64, p. 120.

15. Based on *Puerto Ricans in the United States*, Table 9, p. 89.

16. *Puerto Ricans in the United States*, 1960 Census, Table 5; 1970 Census, Table 7.

17. Based on data in U.S., Bureau of the Census, *Characteristics of the Population: United States Summary*, Part I, Section 1, Table 83. p. 1 – 377.

18. U.S., Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, *Consumer Income* (January 1975), Table 16.

19. Ibid., Table 25.

20. The Bureau of the Census defines a male-headed household as any household with an adult male present, regardless of whether the woman in the family is an equal or primary wage earner. The Bureau is attempting to modify this definition with its new category "husband-wife" family.

21. A New York study found that only about half of all Puerto Rican mothers surveyed knew of daycare for children and two-thirds said they would not know how to secure such a service. (See Valle Consultants, *What Holds Sami Back?: A Study of Service Delivery in a Puerto Rican Community* (New York, 1973), p. 6 (hereafter cited as *What Holds Sami Back?*).

22. *Monthly Labor Review*, April 1973, p. 5.

23. EEOC's statistical breakdown of employment discrimination charges can only be obtained for the overall category of "Spanish-Surnamed Americans, which includes Mexican Americans," Puerto Ricans, and other groups of Hispanic origin.

24. *New York Times*, Oct. 15, 1972, p. 58. *Times'* analysis of 1970 census data.

25. Ibid., Sept. 11, 1974, p. 23.

26. Ibid., Oct. 19, 1975, Section 4, p. 1.

27. *Overview of the Problems Encountered*, p. 1.

28. Majid and Emilie Al-Khazraji, *Worcester's Spanish-Speaking Residents: Dimensions in Social Adjustment* (Worcester: Community Data Center, College of the Holy Cross, 1960) (hereafter cited as *Worcester's Spanish-Speaking Residents*) cited in *Overview of the Problems Encountered*, p. 24.

29. *Massachusetts SAC Report*, p. 24.

30. Community Renewal Team of Greater Hartford, *Proposal BOLT*, prepared by CEP Planning Services (January 1970).

31. *Worcester's Spanish-Speaking Residents*, p. 24.

32. Jose Lumen Roman, Human Resources Administration, interview in New York City, N.Y., Oct. 15,1971(hereafter cited as Roman Interview). The "denial" of unemployment benefits to Puerto Ricans because forms and procedures did not take into account non-English-speaking applicants was litigated in Pabon v. Levine, 75 Civil 1067 (S. D. N.Y. Mar. 15, 1976). The U.S. district court held that Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 required assistance to non-English-speaking claimants under rationale similar to Lau v. Nichols, 414 U.S. 563 (1974).

33. Malcolm R. Lovell, Jr., "Progress Report-The Quest for Equity," *Manpower* Magazine, September 1972, p. 4.

34. *Worcester's Spanish-Speaking Residents*, p. 28.

35. Keerock Rook, "Hispanic-American Study," Western Massachusetts Cooperative Area Manpower Planning Systems (April 1970). Cited in *Overview of the Problems Encountered*, p. 12.

36. *Overview of the Problems Encountered*, p.13. As for the downward mobility of Puerto Rican migrants generally, one study concluded that "Upon arrival in the United States many migrants experience downward mobility, whereas the earnings of most increase substantially" in comparison to earnings on the island. Eva Sandis, "Characteristics of Puerto Rican Migrants to, and from, the United States," *International Migration Review*, Spring 1970, p. 36.

37. Statement of Ewald B. Nyquist, President, University of the State of New York and Commissioner of Education, in transcript of *Hearing Before the United States Commission on Civil Rights, Hearing Held in New York, N.Y.*, Feb. 14 – 15, 1972 (hereafter cited as *New York Hearing*), p. 522.

38. *Worcester's Spanish-Speaking Residents*, p. 51.

39. National Commission for Manpower Policy, *Proceedings of a Conference on Employment Problems of Low Income Groups*, Special Report No. 5 (February 1976), p. 3 (hereafter cited as *Problems of Low Income Groups).*

40. Clara Rodriguez, *The Ethnic Queue in the United States: The Case of the Puerto Ricans* (Ph.D. dissertation, Washington University, June 1973).

41. *What Holds Sami Back*? p. 14.

42. Ibid.

43. National Puerto Rican Forum, *A Study of Poverty Conditions in the New York Puerto Rican Community*(New York, 1970), pp. 2, 13.

44. U.S., Department of Labor, *Manpower Report of the President* (April 1974), p. 81.

45. Ibid.

46. *Puerto Ricans in the United States*, Table 10, p. 94.

47. Thomas Santa, Chicago office of the Migration Division, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, interview, Sept. 18, 1974.

48. National Alliance of Businessmen, *A Look at the Hispanic Population in Massachusetts* (1971), p. 21. (See also testimony concerning transportation and suburban housing by five workers at the Ford Motor Company plant in Mahwah, New Jersey, in *Hearing Before the United States Commission on Civil Rights*, Washington, D.C., June 14 – 17, 1971, pp. 396 – 4082).

49. *Overview of the Problems Encountered*, p. 28.

50. U.S., Department of Labor, *Manpower Report of the President* (March 1973), pp. 102 – 103.

51. U.S., Commission on Civil Rights, *The Federal Civil Rights Enforcement Effort-1974*, Vol. V, *To Eliminate Employment Discrimination* (June 1975), p.32 (hereafter cited as *To Eliminate Employment Discrimination).*

52. *Labor Force Experience*, p. 19.

53. Ibid.

54. National Puerto Rican Forum, *Newsletter*, Winter 1974. See footnote 160, *infra*, for more details.

55. U.S., Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, *The Employment Status of Spanish-Surnamed Americans in the New York SMSA*, Research Report No. 42, June 1974, p. 2 (hereafter cited as EEOC, *The Employment Status).*

56. New York Advisory Committee (SAC) to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *The Puerto Rican and Public Employment in New York State* (April 1973), p. 12.

57. Connecticut State Department of Community Affairs, *Report of the Governor's Council on Spanish-Speaking Opportunities* (Hartford, 1973), p. 75 (hereafter cited as *Governor's Council Report*).

58. *Massachusetts SAC Report*, p. 3.

59. Ibid., p. 29.

60. *The Chicago Reporter*, September 1974, p. 1.

61. New Jersey Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Transcript of Open Meeting*, Trenton, N.J., July 28, 1971.

62. Roman Interview.

63. *Massachusetts SAC Report*, p. 31.

64. *Connecticut SAC Report*, p. 4.

65. *Governor's Council Report*, p. 38.

66. Aramis Gomez, Deputy Director, Neighborhood Manpower Centers, Manpower Career Development Agency, New York, in *Summary of Proceedings: Workshop on the Employment Problems of Puerto Ricans* (New York: New York University, 1968), p. 73 (hereafter cited as *Employment Problems of Puerto Ricans*). The workshop was sponsored by the Center for the Study of the Unemployed, Graduate School of Social Work, New York University.

67. Jose Erazo, Director of Special Programs, Office of the Mayor, interview in New York City, N.Y., Sept. 19, 1974 (hereafter cited as Erazo Interview).

68. The test, passed by 65 percent of white applicants, 25 percent of blacks, and 10 percent of Spanish-origin persons, was "not rationally or empirically significantly related to the capacity of the applicants to be trained for or to perform a policeman's job." Castro v. Beecher, 334 F. Supp. 930, 942 (D. Mass. 1971).

69. Castro v. Beecher, 459 F. 2d 725, 737 (1st Cir. 1972).

70. EEOC, *The Employment Status*, p. 2.

71. James Haughton, "The Role of the Board of Education in Perpetuating Racism in Building Trades and Vice-Versa," in *Schools Against Children*, ed. by Annette Rubenstein (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1970), p. 159, cited in Alfredo Lopez, *The Puerto Rican Papers* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1973).

72. Interviews with Jack Agueros, Executive Director, Mobilization for Youth, Oct. 1, 1971; Manuel Diaz, Vice President, New York Urban Coalition (undated interview); Edward Gonzales, Puerto Rican Manpower and Leadership Training Center, Sept. 12, 1974.

73. Griggs v. Duke Power Co., 401 U.S. 424 (1971).

74. EEOC Guidelines on Employee Selection Procedures, 29 C.F.R. §1607 (1974).

75. Pabon v. Levine, *supra*, note 32.

76. J.D. Hodgson, "Manpower Patterns of the 70's," *Manpower* magazine, February 1971, p. 6.

77. U.S., Department of Labor, *Subemployment in the Slums of New York* (Mar. 14, 1967), p. 15.

78. See *1973 Manpower Report of the President*, p. 103.

79. 76 Stat. 23 (1962), 42 U.S.C. §2571 (1970). On Nov. 12, 1975, the Manpower Administration was renamed Employment and Training Administration.

80. Stanley H. Ruttenberg, *Manpower Challenge of the 1970's: Institutions and Social Change* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1970), pp. 12 – 13.

81. 78 Stat. 508 (1964), 42 U.S.C. §2701 (1970).

82. The Work-Study and Adult Education programs, for example, were shifted to the U.S. Office of Education. The Job Corps and other manpower programs went to the Department of Labor. Title VI Business Incentives was taken over by the Small Business Administration.

83. U.S., Department of Labor, "The New Manpower Act – A Summary," *Manpower* magazine, March 1974.

84. Fred C. Romero, *The Spanish-Speaking and the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act of 1973* (Washington, D.C.: Nuestro Associates and Progressive Enterprising Group, 1974), p. 3.

85. 87 Stat. 839 (1973), 29 U.S.C. §801 *et seq.* (Supp. III 1973).

86. See U.S., Commission on Civil Rights, *Making Civil Rights Sense Out of Revenue Sharing Dollars*, issued February 1975, for an analysis of civil rights aspects of CETA and other revenue sharing programs.

87. U.S., Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *The New York Puerto Rican: Patterns of Work Experience*, Regional Report No. 19(1972), pp. 35 – 36.

88. Daniel E. Jaco, Robert J. Hagan, and George L. Wilbur, *Spanish Americans in the Labor Market* (Lexington: University of Kentucky, 1974), pp. 44–46. Study prepared for the Employment and Training Administration.

89. *The MDTA Outcomes Study Among the Spanish-Surnamed Enrollees*, Final Report (Santa Ana, California: Decision-Making Information, June 1973), cited in 1973 *Manpower Report of the President*, p. 104.

90. Inter-Agency Manpower Planning Task Force, Research and Policy Committee, "Training and Jobs for the Urban Poor" (1975).

91. U.S., Department of Labor, *Manpower Administration, Profile and Performance of Region II* (June 20, 1973), p. 4.

92. Ed Aponte, former New York Regional Manpower Administrator, DOL, interview, Sept. 11, 1974 (hereafter cited as Aponte Interview).

93. *Employment Profiles*, 1972, Table 32a, p. 178.

94. 1974 *Manpower Report of the President*, Table F-6, p. 363.

95. Chicago Alliance of Businessmen, Task Force on Latin American Manpower Development, *Public and Private Manpower and Educational Programs Serving Latin Americans in Chicago Cook County* (1973), pp. 6, 24.

96. Ibid., p. 28.

97. Henry Ramirez, "American's Spanish-Speaking: A Profile," *Manpower* magazine, September 1972, p. 34.

98. *New York Hearing*, p. 19.

99. Tom Corso, Human Resources Director, Office of Mayor, Bridgeport, Conn., telephone interview June 5, 1974.

100. Edward Gonzales, Puerto Rican Manpower and Leadership Training Center, Cornell University, interview in New York City, N.Y., Sept. 12, 1974 (hereafter cited as Gonzales Interview).

101. Cesar Rivera, Urban Progress Center, interview in Chicago, Ill., Sept. 17, 1974 (hereafter cited as Rivera Interview).

102. Herbert Bienstock, Regional Director, Bureau of Labor Statistics, New York, in *Employment Problems of the Puerto Ricans*, pp. 37, 61.

103. Cabinet Committee on Opportunities for Spanish-Speaking People, Task Force on Manpower, *Working Paper on Manpower Policies and Programs Affecting Spanish-Speaking Americans* (Feb. 23, 1971), p. 7 (hereafter cited as *Working Paper on Manpower Policies*).

104. *Problems of Low Income Groups*, p. 3.

105. Dr. Fred Romero, Special Assistant to the Undersecretary for Rural Affairs, Department of Labor, telephone interview with Commission staff, July 28, 1976 (hereafter cited as Romero Interview, July 28, 1976).

106. National Alliance of Businessmen/Job Opportunities in the Business Sectors (NAB/JOBS) linked the National Alliance of Businessmen with the Federal Government to establish a program for the hardcore unemployed, giving them on-the-job training after they were hired but before they were put to work.

107. Thompson, Lewin, and Associates, *Strengthening Manpower Programs for Spanish Speaking Americans*, Report of the Department of Labor Study Group on Manpower Needs of Spanish-Speaking Americans (Nov. 10, 1971), pp. 5 – 6.

108. Ibid., p. 7.

109. Lovell, *Manpower* magazine, September 1972, p. 6.

110. Dr. Fred Romero, Regional Director, Department of Labor, telephone interview, Denver, Colo., Oct. 23, 1974 (hereafter cited as Romero Interview, Oct. 23, 1974). Dr. Romero is now Special Assistant to the Undersecretary for Rural Affairs in the Department of Labor.

111. Romero, *The Spanish Speaking and CETA*, p. 21.

112. See New Jersey Advisory Committee (SAC) to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Hispanic Participation in Manpower Programs in Newark, New Jersey* (July 1976) for an analysis of CETA programs in Newark.

113. Cuiros Interview.

114. Gonzales Interview.

115. Romero Interview, Oct. 23, 1974.

116. John A. Buggs, Staff Director, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, letter to Pierce A. Quinlan, Acting Associate Manpower Administrator for the Office of Manpower Development Programs, Department of Labor, May 2, 1974.

117. Under the formula 50 percent of funds provided are based on the previous year's fund allotment, 37 1/2 percent on the current number unemployed, and 12 1/2 percent on the number of low-income persons.

118. Bernstein Interview.

119. Duggan Interview.

120. Ibid.

121. Erazo Interview.

122. Nicholas Avitabile, Action for Boston Community Development (ABCD), interview Sept. 19, 1974.

123. National Academy of Sciences, National Research Council, *The Comprehensive Employment and Training Act: Impact on People, Places, and Projects, An Interim Report* (Washington, D.C., 1976), pp. 130, 138 – 9. A staff report prepared under a grant from the Ford Foundation.

124. U.S., Department of Labor, Employment and Training Administration, *Employment and Training Report of the President* (1976), p. 100 (hereafter cited as 1976 *Employment and Training Report*). See also *Continuous Longitudinal Manpower Survey, Report No. 1, Characteristics of CETA Participants Enrolled During Third Quarter of FY 1975* (January 1976), pp. 3-23 – 3-25. Report MEL 76-02, Contract No. 23-24-75-07, prepared for the Employment and Training Administration by Westat, Inc., Rockville, Md.

125. Romero Interview, July 28, 1976.

126. SER/Jobs for Progress Inc., *The Impact of the First Year Implementation of CETA on the Spanish Speaking* (November 1975). Results of a survey conducted by Services, Employment, Redevelopment (SER), a self-help organization for the Spanish speaking, under a grant from the Ford Foundation. Although this report deals mainly with Mexican Americans, the data and findings are useful in assessing CETA and Hispanic participation in the programs in general.

127. Romero Interview, July 28, 1976.

128. National Academy of Sciences, National Research Council, *Transition to Decentralized Manpower Programs, Eight Area Studies, An Interim Report* (Washington, D.C., 1976), p. 39.

129. See the New Jersey SAC report on Hispanic participation in Newark, N.J., manpower programs.

130. El Paso Center Director, David Carrasco, as quoted in "The Job Corps Learns Spanish," *Manpower* magazine, September 1972, p. 14.

131. Ibid., p. 7.

132. Ibid.

133. 1976 *Employment and Training Report*, p. 109.

134. Ibid.

135. 29 U.S.C. § 49 *et seq.* (1970).

136. The USES is a component of the Bureau of Employment Security (BES), part of the Labor Department's Employment and Training Administration.

137. Lawyer's Committee for Civil Rights Under Law and the National Urban Coalition, *Falling Down on the Job: The United States Employment Service and the Disadvantaged* (June 1971), p. 127 (hereafter cited as *Falling Down on the Job*).

138. Ruttenberg, *Manpower Challenge of the 1970's*, pp. 44 – 45.

139. Duggan Interview.

140. Carmen Pola, Cardinal Cushing Center for the Spanish-Speaking, interview in Boston, Mass., Sept. 20, 1974.

141. Aponte Interview.

142. Miriam Cruz, Special Assistant, Office of the Mayor, interview, Chicago, Ill., Sept. 17, 1974.

143. Petra Arroyo, Acting Manpower Director, PRCDP, interview in New York City, N.Y., Sept. 13, 1974.

144. Rivera Interview.

145. Dr. Charles A. Pounion, Personnel Director, Civil Service Commission, interview in Chicago, Ill., Sept. 17, 1974.

146. Gomez in *Employment Problems of Puerto Ricans*, p. 87.

147. *Manpower* magazine, September 1972, p. 35.

148. *Falling Down on the Job*, p. 133.

149. Press release by the U.S. Civil Service Commission, Aug. 13, 1976. See U.S. Civil Service Commission, *Minority Group Employment in the Federal Government* (May 1974), Table 1 – 001.

150. *Massachusetts SAC Report*, pp. 88 – 89.

151. Ibid., p. 104.

152. William J. Usery, Jr., Secretary of Labor, memorandum on the Spanish Speaking Program, May 13, 1976.

153. U.S., Commission on Civil Rights, *The Federal Civil Rights Enforcement Effort: A Reassessment* (January 1973), p. 45 (hereafter cited as *A Reassessment*).

154. *To Eliminate Employment Discrimination*, pp. 24–25. The U.S. Civil Service Commission has criticized this Commission's position on numerical goals and timetables as advocating a quota system in contravention to merit promotion procedures. As this Commission indicated, "the establishment of goals and timetables, we insist, is not a quota to fix a particular level of employment for any group, but rather an attempt to make a good faith effort to overcome past discriminatory practices which excluded minority and female applicants." (p. 18.)

155. *A Reassessment*, p. 49.

156. Manuel Diaz, Jr., New York Urban Coalition, in *Federal Employment Problems of the Spanish Speaking*, Hearing Before the Civil Rights Oversight Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, 92d Cong., Mar. 8–10, 1972, p. 129.

157. Carlos Lopez, Assistant to the Mayor on Spanish Affairs, interview in Boston, Mass., Sept. 20, 1974.

158. *Governor's Council Report*, p. 16.

159. Ruperto Ruiz, New York State Commission on Human Rights, interview in New York City, N.Y., Sept. 13, 1974.

160. Even in those cases where affirmative action plans have been implemented, progress is not irreversible. Under the concept of "last hired," first fired, many of those who benefit

from affirmative action would be the first to lose their jobs in a recession or government budget crisis because of a lack of seniority. For example, because of New York City's fiscal crisis, the city has lost half of its Spanish origin workers in the last 18 months. The chairman of the city's Commission on Human Rights, Eleanor Holmes Norton, was quoted as saying, "You are close to wiping out the minority work force in the city of New York." According to Deputy Mayor Gibson, minorities represented 31 percent of the payroll, but suffered 44 percent of the cuts. *The New York Times*, Feb. 20, 1976, p. 1. However, the United States Supreme Court has recently held that after a finding by a U.S. district court that an employer has been in violation of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the awarding of retroactive seniority is an appropriate remedy in light of the act's purpose. The discriminated employee or applicant may be placed in the position he or she would have been had it not been for discrimination. Franks v. Bowman Transportation Co., 96 S. Ct. 1251 (1976).

161. "Little Forward Progress for State's Minority Employees After Year of Gov. Walker's Affirmative Action Program," *The Chicago Reporter*, January 1975, p. 2.

162. Ismael Betancourt in *Puerto Ricans Confront Problems of the Complex Urban Society*, Community Conference Proceedings, New York, N.Y., Apr. 15 – 16, 1967, p. 460.

Chapter Three

The Crisis in Education

Data in the previous chapter showed that mainland Puerto Ricans have lower incomes than whites, blacks, and other Hispanic minorities in the United States. The same relationship is evident in terms of education. The typical white American adult has graduated from high school and has had a taste of college; the typical black has completed 9.8 years of school; and the typical mainland Puerto Rican has completed only 8.7 years.[1]

Recent census figures (1975) also show clear differences in education among major Hispanic groups (Puerto Ricans, Mexican Americans, and Cubans), with Puerto Ricans generally at the lowest rung of the ladder. There is a sharp difference, for example, between the educational picture for Cubans and Puerto Ricans. As for Mexican Americans, while they are less likely than Puerto Ricans to have completed 5 years of school, they are more likely to have graduated from high school. In the younger age brackets (25 to 29 years) Puerto Ricans have made notable progress in education, but still lag behind other groups. (See Tables 27 and 28.)

SCHOOL ENROLLMENT AND DROPOUT RATES

Between 1960 and 1970 the dropout rate for school-age Puerto Ricans fell, particularly for young adults. But a severe dropout problem persists.

During the elementary school years (age 5 to 13), the staying power of Puerto Rican children is quite comparable to the national average: 72 percent of all youngsters age 5 to 6, and 97 percent of those age 7 to 13, are enrolled in school.

The dropout problem becomes evident in the age 14 to 17 group. Nationwide, 93 percent of all youngsters in this age group remain in school, compared with 85 percent of Puerto Rican youngsters.

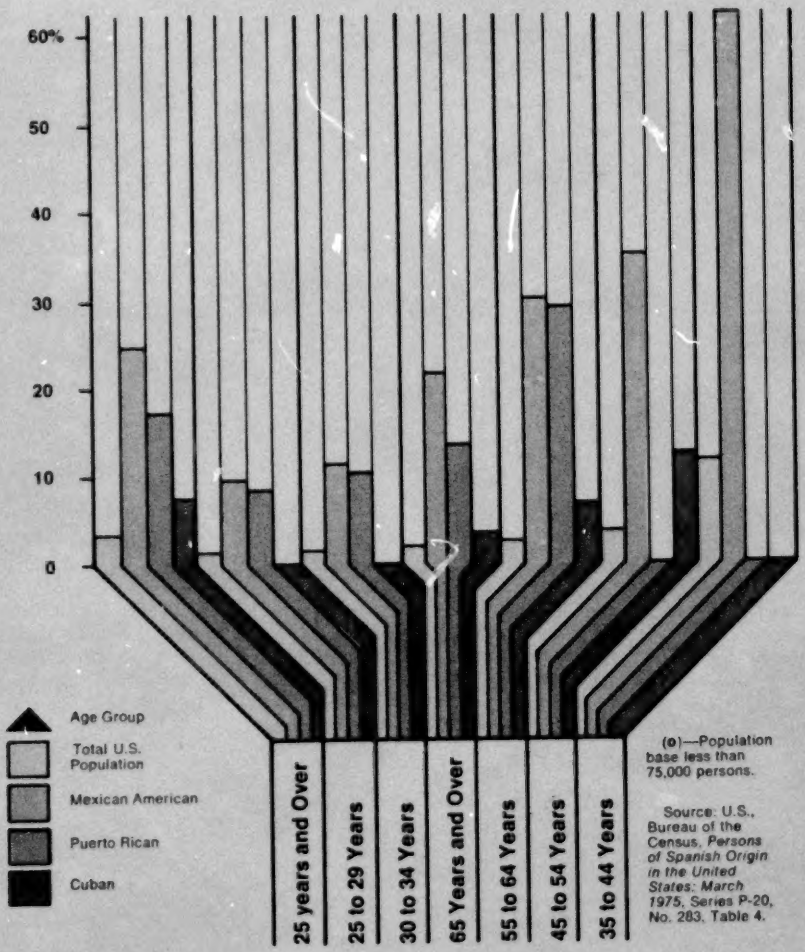
The difference grows more acute in the age 18 to 24 group. Nationwide, while 37 percent of young males remain in school, only 18 percent of the Puerto Rican males are still enrolled (the figures are comparable for women). In other words, young adult Puerto Ricans are only half as likely to be in school as their peers. (See Table 29.)

In a study conducted in Chicago, the dropout rate for Puerto Ricans in grammar and high school was 71.2 percent. The study indicated that 12.5 percent dropped out in grammar school, while 58.7 percent dropped out in high school.[2]

Students drop out of school for a variety of reasons. While some drop out because they cannot keep up academically, this is by no means the sole

Table 27

Percent of Persons (25 Years Old and Over) Who Have Completed Less Than 5 Years of School

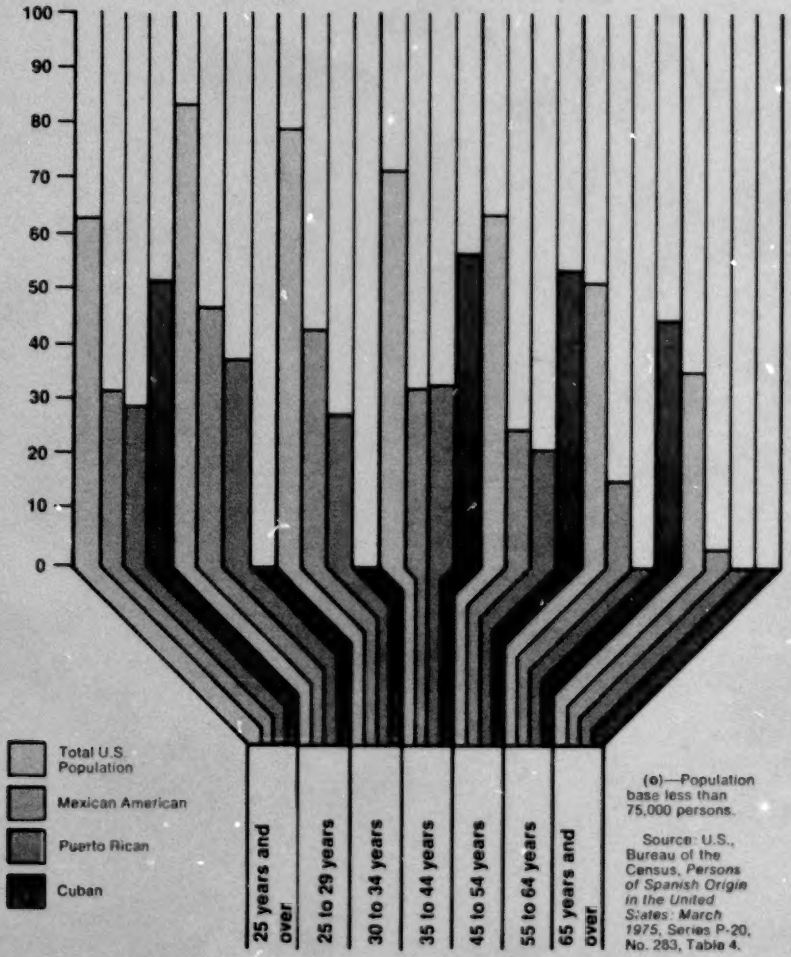


(o)—Population base less than 75,000 persons.

Source: U.S., Bureau of the Census, *Persons of Spanish Origin in the United States: March 1975*, Series P-20, No. 283, Table 4.

Table 28

Percent of Persons (25 Years Old and Over) Who Have Completed 4 Years of High School or More, March 1975



(e)—Population base less than 75,000 persons.

Source: U.S., Bureau of the Census, *Persons of Spanish Origin in the United States: March 1975*, Series P-20, No. 283, Table 4.

Table 29

School Enrollment of the Total U.S. and Puerto Rican Populations Age 5 to 34 Years: United States—1960 and 1970

(by percent)

	Total in U.S.		Puerto Rican Residents of the U.S.					
			Total		Born in Puerto Rico		Born in U.S.	
Age	1960	1970	1960	1970	1960	1970	1960	1970
5 and 6 years old	63.8	72.4	66.4	72.4	64.7	67.5	67.0	73.7
7 to 13 years old	97.5	97.3	94.9	94.9	94.2	93.2	95.7	95.6
14 to 17 years old:								
Male	87.8	93.2	75.8	85.5	73.7	78.5	83.5	90.7
Female	87.1	92.7	72.5	83.7	69.5	75.8	84.9	90.0
18 to 24 years old:								
Male	27.8	37.5	10.9	18.4	9.5	13.3	21.4	32.6
Female	18.4	27.2	8.4	14.3	7.6	10.3	13.6	26.3
25 to 34 years old	4.6	6.3	3.3	2.5	3.1	1.9	5.5	6.8

Source: 1960 Census, *Puerto Ricans in the United States*
1970 Census, *Puerto Ricans in the United States*.

reason. Of the 30 percent of U.S. high school students who drop out each year, one-third are in their senior year and have already completed most of the required courses. Most dropouts are bored, find the school unresponsive to their cultural backgrounds, or feel compelled to obtain a job.[3]

By examining several aspects of the Puerto Rican youngster's experience in school, the multiple reasons for dropping out become clear.

LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

More than 30 percent of the 437,000 Puerto Rican students enrolled in mainland schools are born in Puerto Rico. Each year thousands of children transfer from schools in Puerto Rico to those on the mainland. (See Table 30 for student transfers between Puerto Rico and New York City.) Spanish is the mother tongue of a major segment of the Puerto Rican school-age population (and is the language used most often in the home, even for those students born on the mainland).

In New York City in 1970, of 362,000 Puerto Ricans under age 18, nearly one-fourth (80,370) had been born in Puerto Rico. About one-fourth (nearly 80,000) of the Puerto Rican and other Hispanic students in New York City's public schools speak poor or hesitant English.[4] Birthplace is, obviously, a major determinant of ability to speak English.

It is also clear that birthplace, language ability, and dropping out are closely intertwined. Great disparities exist in the dropout rates of island-born and U.S.-born Puerto Rican youngsters. Those born on the mainland tend to enroll earlier in school and tend to drop out less frequently.

About 47 percent of all mainland Puerto Ricans age 3 to 34 are enrolled in school. But this overall average is misleading: 67 percent of the mainland-born Puerto Ricans in that age group are enrolled, compared with only 28 percent of those born in Puerto Rico. The disparity is very pronounced in the age 18 to 24 group. Among males of this age group, for example, 33 percent of the U.S.-born were still in school, compared with only 13 percent of the island-born. Among males age 16 to 21, about 12,000 of the U.S.-born are not enrolled in school, compared with 32,000 island-born youngsters. (See Table 31.)

These figures indicate that the dropout rate is more severe among Puerto Rican youngsters born on the island than among those youngsters of Puerto Rican parentage born on the mainland. Island-born youngsters are more likely to have problems communicating in English, more likely to be unemployed or underemployed, and more likely to be doomed to a life of poverty.

While the education problems of mainland Puerto Ricans are certainly not limited to the island-born, this group is more adversely affected by

Table 30

Transfers of Public School Students Between Puerto Rico and New York City

School Year	Came from Puerto Rico	Moved to Puerto Rico	Net Migration to New York[1]
1954-55	9,496	3,662	5,834
1955-56	11,727	3,934	7,793
1956-57	12,905	5,020	7,885
1957-58	11,505	5,557	5,948
1958-59	10,737	6,491	4,246
1959-60	10,315	7,806	2,509
1960-61	9,414	7,688	1,726
1961-62	8,777	8,428	349
1962-63	7,942	8,508	-566
1963-64	8,245	7,849	396
1964-65	8,496	8,179	317
1965-66	9,232	7,986	1,246
1966-67	11,191	8,193	2,998
1967-68	13,706	8,696	5,010
1968-69	14,840	10,095	4,745
1969-70	12,586	12,254	332
1970-71	11,466	12,752	-1,286
1971-72	8,482	14,079	-5,597
1972-73	8,445	13,434	-4,989
1973-74	9,892	10,771	-879
10-year totals, 1954-1963	101,063	64,943	36,120
1964-73	108,336	106,439	1,897
5-year totals, 1969-1973	50,871	63,290	-12,419

[1] A minus sign (—) denotes net return migration from New York City to Puerto Rico.

Source: Joyce Garnes, Bureau of Attendance, New York City Board of Education, memorandum dated Oct. 6, 1975.

Table 31

School Enrollment of Mainland Puerto Ricans, by Birthplace, 1970

	Mainland Puerto Ricans	Born in Puerto Rico	Born in U.S. Mainland
Total enrolled, age 3-34	437,863	134,501	303,362
Nursery School	5,439	928	4,511
Kindergarten	29,112	5,747	23,365
Elementary (Grades 1-8)	294,785	81,006	213,779
High School (Grades 9-12)	90,822	37,279	53,543
College	17,705	9,541	8,164
Percent enrolled, age 3-34	46.8	27.7	67.4
3 and 4 yrs. old	10.6	11.4	10.4
5 and 6 yrs. old	72.4	67.5	73.7
7 to 13 yrs. old	94.9	93.2	95.6
14 to 17 yrs. old:			
Male	85.5	78.5	90.7
Female	83.7	75.8	90.0
18 to 24 yrs. old:			
Male	18.4	13.3	32.6
Female	14.3	10.3	26.3
25 to 34 yrs. old	2.5	1.9	6.8
Male 16 to 21 yrs. old	81,056	49,387	31,669

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Puerto Ricans in the United States*, PC(2)-1E, June 1973, Table 4.

inadequate schooling. Language is often the key factor that makes them different from other Puerto Rican students, many of whom may sit in the same classroom, or may even be siblings. The fact that these language-handicapped students achieve less and drop out more is compelling evidence that the schools' response to the problem has been inadequate.

One Puerto Rican parent expressed his dismay at the lack of special instruction for his children:

> ...They are practically wasting their time because they are not learning anything. First of all, they don't understand the language. What good does it do to sit there in front of the teacher and just look at her face? It is wasting their time. They don't learn anything because they don't understand what she is saying.[5]

ACHIEVEMENT LEVELS

In a sample taken by the New York City Board of Education, schools with heavy Puerto Rican enrollment had much lower reading averages than predominantly black or white schools. At every level sampled, Puerto Rican students were behind the other two groups in reading.[6]

In 1972 two-thirds of the elementary schools in New York City that contained 85 percent or more students reading below grade level had a student population which was more than 50 percent Puerto Rican.[7]

In Chicago, 1970 – 71 test scores in reading and mathematics indicated a much lower achievement rate for Puerto Rican students than the citywide median. The lag increased with each succeeding grade.[8]

TESTING

The use of standardized achievement tests contributes to the failure of public schools to teach Puerto Rican students. IQ and achievement test scores often are used as guides in assigning students to ability groups and to classes for the educable mentally retarded (EMR).

Since most tests are given in English, many children are programmed for failure. In Philadelphia, a school official acknowledged that psychological tests are often given only in English and that they form the basis for assessing the mental and emotional states of Puerto Rican students.[9]

Commenting on this point, a Philadelphia psychologist said:

> In my clinic, the average underestimation of IQ for a Puerto Rican kid is 20 points. We go through this again and again. When we test in Spanish, there's a 20 point leap immediately—20 points higher than when he's tested in English.[10]

Some school systems have attempted to overcome the language gap by translating standard IQ tests into Spanish, but these tests are often designed for Mexican American children. (Although Spanish is common to both Mexico and Puerto Rico, there are many colloquialisms peculiar to each area.) A few school systems have experimented with tests developed in Puerto Rico, but testing continues to be a major linguistic and cultural barrier for many Puerto Rican students.

STUDENT ASSIGNMENT PRACTICES

School systems frequently place underachieving students in low-ability groups, or in classes for the educable mentally retarded, or retain them in grade. Recent arrivals from Puerto Rico are often assigned to lower grades. The rationale for such practices is that students will benefit from special instruction in low-level classes, but the correlation between such placement and improved academic performance is dubious. In fact, the lower level of curriculum and the absence of stimulation from higher-achieving students may be negative factors that further retard the student.[11] If anything, the stigma attached to being labeled a "slow learner" can result in a loss of self-esteem and reinforce the student's sense of failure.[12] Rather than progress out of EMR classes or low-ability groups, students tend to remain there, be assigned vocational (rather than college-bound) curricula, or drop out altogether.[13]

A former president of the New York City Board of Education has testified:

> Historically, in New York City we have had two school systems, one school system for those youngsters who are expected to achieve, and one for the youngsters who were not expected to achieve, and don't achieve. And most of the minority group youngsters are in that second school system, and the system is pretty much set up to see to it that they don't succeed. And I think that's why they drop out of schools.[14]

The Office for Civil Rights (OCR) of the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) has investigated ability-grouping practices in several school districts that have large Puerto Rican student populations. In East Chicago, Indiana, for example, these practices resulted in racially identifiable "tracks": students appeared to be assigned arbitrarily to a group with no apparent pedagogical justification. The school district was required by HEW to develop new assignment policies.[15] The Philadelphia school system has reported that its practice of using achievement tests as the basis for placing students in "tracking systems"

has resulted in a disproportionate number of black and Puerto Rican students in low ability groups.[16]

Placement in educable mentally retarded classes is also largely determined by a child's score on a standardized IQ test given in English or upon subjective teacher evaluation. In New York City, almost 30 percent of the students in special classes for children with retarded mental development have Hispanic backgrounds. It has been suggested that faulty analysis of test results (by psychologists who do not speak the same language as the children) is responsible.[17]

The Office for Civil Rights has documented that the school district in Perth Amboy, New Jersey, assigned language-minority students to EMR classes on the basis of criteria that essentially measured English language skills, even though it appeared that the majority of the Hispanic students had difficulty with the English language. OCR also found that some regular classroom teachers were more inclined to refer Puerto Rican children to the department of special services for EMR placement than Anglo children "because they do not know how to deal with the behavioral problems of these children."[18]

The New York State Commissioner of Education has reported that non-English-speaking children are sometimes placed in classes for slow learners or EMR classes without sufficient justification. Some students were judged to be mentally retarded because they were quiet in class.[19]

These types of practices result in a high number of "over-age" Puerto Rican students in the schools. In New England, it has been reported that 25 percent of the Hispanic children have been held back at least three grades in school and that 50 percent have been held back at least two grades. Only 12 percent were found to be in the correct grade for their age group.[20] A field survey in Boston found that nearly 75 percent of the Hispanic high school students were in classes behind students of their own age.[21]

The problem is particularly acute among transfer students from Puerto Rico. A witness at the Massachusetts Advisory Committee's open meeting testified:

> They came from Puerto Rico, they're in the 10th, 11th, or senior year of high school, and they're 17, 18, 19 years old.... They came to Boston and they placed them in the 6th and 7th grades. You're wondering why they dropped out. A person who does not feel his identity is lost right there.... Here's a kid trying to learn and he automatically gets an inferiority complex and quits.[22]

PROGRAMS FOR LANGUAGE-MINORITY CHILDREN

During the 1960s two types of approaches emerged to overcome the linguistic barriers of language-minority children.[23] One approach, English as a Second Language (ESL), teaches students to communicate in English as quickly as possible. The programs provide instruction and practice in listening, speaking, reading, and writing English. Students are taken from their regular classrooms for 30 to 40 minutes per day for this special help, but otherwise remain in their regular classes for content matter instruction.

By themselves, ESL programs are very limited since they use only English to teach literacy and communication rather than the student's native language to transmit concepts and skills (which might facilitate the learning of English). ESL students inevitably fall behind in the regular classroom, where content courses are being taught.[24]

The second approach, slowly growing in acceptance, is bilingual-bicultural education. A program of bilingual education is:

> (4)(A)...a program of instruction, designed for children of limited English-speaking ability in elementary or secondary schools, in which, with respect to the years of study to which such program is applicable—
>
> (i)there is instruction given in, and study of, English and, to the extent necessary to allow a child to progress through the educational system, the native language of the children of limited English-speaking ability, and such instruction is given with appreciation for the cultural heritage of such children, and with respect to elementary school instruction, such instruction shall, to the extent necessary, be in all courses or subjects of study which will allow a child to progress effectively through the educational system....[25]

This attempt at a total approach includes the teaching of English as a second language, development of literacy in the mother tongue, and the uninterrupted learning of subject areas. It is based on the principle that learning should continue in the mother tongue rather than be postponed until a new language has been acquired. Teaching a child to read first in the language that he or she speaks makes it easier to read and write in a second language, since the basic skills are transferable from one language to another. The inclusion of curriculum materials on the student's culture and background experience also heightens interest in the subject matter.[26]

Hernan LaFontaine, a Puerto Rican educator and the executive administrator of the Office of Bilingual Education for the New York City Board of Education, has noted:

> Our definition of cultural pluralism must include the concept that our language and our culture will be given equal status to that of the majority population. It is not enough simply to say that we should be given the opportunity to share in the positive benefits of modern American life. Instead, we must insist that this sharing will not be accomplished at the sacrifice of all those traits which make us what we are as Puerto Ricans.[27]

PERSONNEL

School personnel have profound influence over the success or failure of students. Not only do they make decisions to promote or retain students in school programs, but also their attitudes and expectations often are reflected in student performance.[28] When they perceive low expectations on the part of teachers, for example, students tend to do less well on tests.[29]

In its investigation into Mexican American education, the Commission found that Anglo teachers tended to favor Anglo children over Mexican Americans in their praise, encouragement, attention, and approval. Predictably, it was also found that Mexican American students participated in class less than Anglo students.[30] No similar study of Puerto Rican students has been carried out, but it is reasonable to assume that the results would be the same.

The impact that teachers and administrators have on the learning environment for students underscores the need for school personnel who reflect the background of students and thus are more likely to relate positively to them. As the Educational Policies Commission noted:

> Despite their better judgment, people of another background often feel that disadvantaged children are by nature perverse, vulgar, or lazy. Children sense quickly the attitudes of school people toward them, and they retaliate against condescension or intolerance with hostility, absenteeism, and failure.[31]

The Office for Civil Rights recognized the influence of school personnel on equal educational opportunities in its memorandum of January 1971, "Nondiscrimination in Elementary and Secondary School Staff Practices." School superintendents were informed that discrimination in hiring, promotion, demotion, dismissal, or other treatment of faculty or staff serving students had a direct adverse effect on equal educational services for students and was therefore prohibited by Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Since that year, OCR has required school districts to submit affirmative action plans in cases where minority faculty is underrepresented.

Despite the importance of having Puerto Rican teachers and administrators in districts with large numbers of Puerto Rican students,

Table 32

Spanish-Surnamed Students and Teachers in Selected Cities: 1972

City	% Spanish-Surnamed Students	% Spanish-Surnamed Teachers
New York	26.6	2.2
Philadelphia	3.4	0.0
Bridgeport	21.2	1.9
Hartford	21.5	3.7
New Haven	9.8	1.6
Boston	5.3	0.7
Springfield	7.7	1.3
Camden	16.8	1.8
Elizabeth	19.9	3.9
Hoboken	56.8	3.3
Passaic	31.5	1.1
Paterson	22.1	2.1
Perth Amboy	49.2	4.6
Union City	64.6	7.1
Rochester	5.6	1.4
Chicago	11.1	1.2

Source: U.S., Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office for Civil Rights, *Directory of Public Elementary and Secondary Schools in Selected Districts, Enrollment and Staff by Racial/Ethnic Group*, Fall 1972.

none of the districts surveyed by the Commission had an adequate representation.[32] Few school systems gather data on the number of Puerto Rican students and teachers, nor is such data now required by the Federal Government. The data that are collected usually refer to "Spanish surnamed" students or teachers, which includes other Hispanic Americans. Table 32 reflects the percentage of students and teachers of Spanish origin in several cities with large concentrations of Puerto Ricans.

New York City has the single largest concentration of Puerto Rican students in its public schools. In fiscal year 1974, nearly 300,000 Hispanic children were enrolled in the public schools, including 256,000 Puerto Rican students. Hispanics accounted for 27.0 percent of total school enrollment (23.1 percent Puerto Rican and 3.9 percent other Hispanic). (See Table 33.) Despite the fact that more than one-fourth of the student body was Hispanic, only 2.5 percent of the total number of school teachers were of Spanish origin. Only 1,391 of the 56,168 teachers in New York City had Spanish surnames. This figure is considerably larger than the 0.8 percent share 5 years previous, but the disparity between the percentage of teachers and students remained enormous (see Table 34).[33]

One study has estimated that at least 13,700 more teachers of Spanish origin would need to be hired to approach equitable representation in the New York City public schools. This would be nearly 10 times the number in 1973.[34]

The situation is no better in other major cities where Puerto Ricans live. In Chicago (1972), there were 27,946 Puerto Rican students, but only 91 Puerto Rican teachers in the entire system. Of 1,706 administrative and supervisory personnel, only 17 were Puerto Rican. No statistics were available for the number of Puerto Rican counselors.[35]

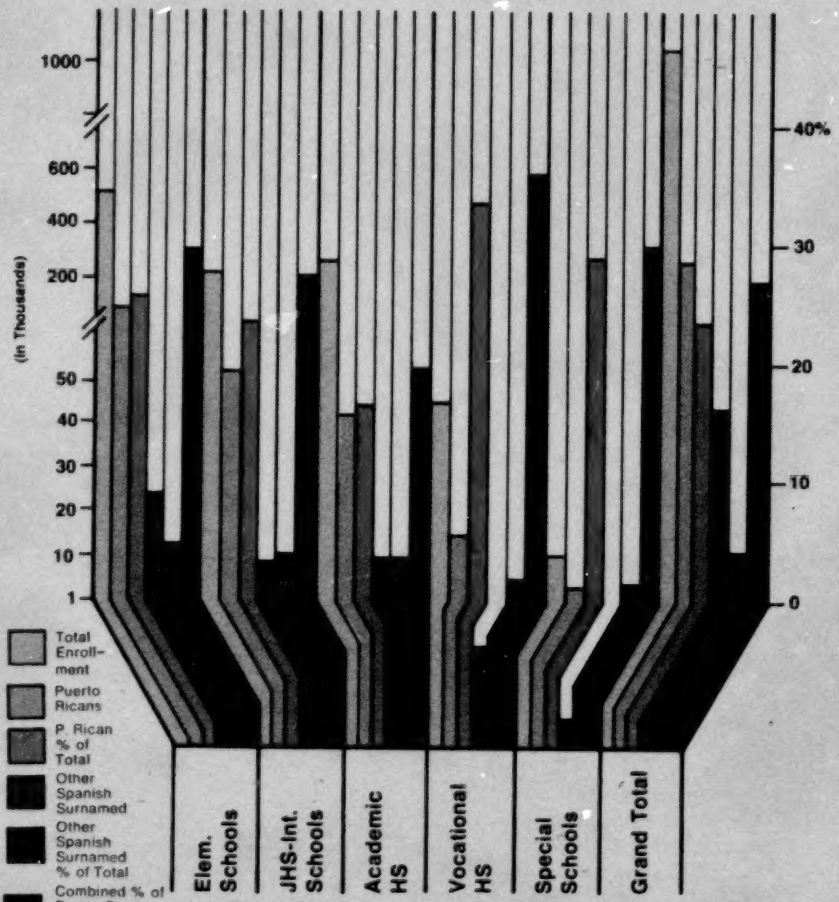
In Boston (1972), only 5 of the city's 4,729 teachers were Puerto Rican, and not one guidance counselor could speak Spanish. In Springfield, Massachusetts, there were only 5 Puerto Rican and 5 other Hispanic teachers for 1,485 Puerto Rican students.[36] In Philadelphia, less than 1 percent of the teachers were Puerto Rican; only 2 of 532 guidance counselors were Puerto Rican, about 1 for every 4,750 Puerto Rican students.[37] In Bridgeport, Connecticut (1971), the board of education employed only 10 Puerto Rican teachers for nearly 4,000 Puerto Rican students. None of the 23 full-time counselors was Puerto Rican. A plan to recruit more teachers of Spanish origin was vetoed by the school board.[38]

COUNSELING

Many Puerto Rican students perceive their non-Hispanic teachers and counselors as indifferent or insensitive. One student in Connecticut testified:

Table 33

Puerto Ricans and Other Spanish-Surnamed-Students in New York City Public Schools: 1973-74



Note: There are 405,311 black students, representing 36.6 percent of total enrollment; 463 Native Americans, representing 0.1 percent, and 22,067 Asian and Pacific Americans, representing 2.0 percent.

Source: New York City Board of Education, *Facts and Figures, 1973-74.*

> I feel that the teachers don't care about the students....A Spanish-speaking student comes into the room, immediately that person is considered dumb without even being given a chance.[39]

A Puerto Rican student in Camden, New Jersey, echoed the belief that counselors are insensitive to Puerto Rican students:

> The attitude that a lot of counselors had with a lot of friends of mine, because a lot of the individuals that graduated with me from high school are now shooting drugs and doing time in jail [is] to generalize and tell me that my people are dumb, that we make good dishwashers. We can't manipulate our minds, but we're good with our hands, and we are docile....[40]

Another Puerto Rican student told the Pennsylvania Advisory Committee of her efforts to be admitted to an academic course and of the repeated warnings of guidance counselors that "I should not aim too high because I would probably be disappointed at the end result."[41]

Few Puerto Rican students are encouraged by high school counselors or teachers to think about college. The president of Hostos Community College in Bronx, New York, cited several instances in which counselors told Puerto Rican high school students that they were not "college material." One girl, who, according to this official, eventually completed her junior and senior years in 1 year at Queens College, allegedly had been removed from a college preparatory curriculum in high school and put into a secretarial course.[42] A counselor at Temple University (Philadelphia) said, "A lot of Puerto Rican kids don't think of college. They're not exposed to the right counselors in high school. They're in the wrong programs: most are in nonacademic courses."[43]

PARENT AND COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

Families exercise great influence on student attitudes toward education. By working in concert with parents, schools maximize chances that students will effectively participate in public education.[44]

In their open meetings, the Commission's State Advisory Committees heard testimony that Puerto Rican parents and community leaders were frequently excluded from participation in school matters. In Massachusetts, it was found that "poor communication, if any, exists between the local school districts and the Puerto Rican community."[45] A major reason was difficulty with the English language. Often, parents could not communicate with authorities because of this language barrier; school notices generally were in English.

Table 34

Staff of New York City Public School System, Including number and percentage of Spanish-Surnamed Staff, 1968, 1972, 1973

Job Category	Fall 1968 Total	Fall 1968 Spanish Surnamed	Fall 1968 %	Fall 1972 Total	Fall 1972 Spanish Surnamed	Fall 1972 %	Fall 1973 Total	Fall 1973 Spanish Surnamed	Fall 1973 %	Fall 1974 Total	Fall 1974 Spanish Surnamed	Fall 1974 %
Principals	893	1	0.1	940	20	2.1	962	31	3.2	981	39	4.0
Assistant principals	1,841	6	.3	2,600	40	1.5	2,645	38	1.4	2,705	48	1.8
Teachers	54,908	522	1.0	55,242	1,158	2.1	56,168	1,391	2.5	55,415	170	3.1
Other professional staff	6,080	156	2.6	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Other instructional staff	–	–	–	4,110	220	5.4	4,038	232	5.7	4,120	227	5.5
Full-time Clerical office staff	–	–	–	3,465	165	4.8	898	26	2.9	–	–	–
Part-time professional staff	–	–	–	2,217	37	1.7	2,371	46	1.9	–	–	–

Note: In spring 1975 the New York City Board of Education began laying off thousands of teachers and other staff. Statistical information reflecting the current situation in New York City is not yet available.

Source: New York City Board of Education, Division of Teacher Personnel.

In Illinois, a parent representative on a Title I advisory council said that meetings were sometimes imcomprehensible to her. The council's agenda and related information were always prepared in English.[46]

In Bridgeport, Connecticut, 89 percent of the Puerto Rican parents surveyed said that they had difficulty in communicating in English, but only 20 percent received written notices in Spanish.[47]

Puerto Rican parents have been frustrated in attempts to join councils and organizations representing the school community. They often do not participate in PTA organizations, whose meetings are conducted in English.[48] Community involvement in advisory councils to Federal programs, such as those under Titles I and VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, has also been limited, despite the requirement that communities be involved in decisionmaking. Although Puerto Ricans were about 5 percent of the student enrollment in Boston, the Title I advisory council of 66 members and 42 alternates had no Puerto Rican representatives.[49]

In Chicago, most of the six Hispanic members of the citywide advisory council were employees of the school system. This would appear to create some difficulty over their ability to function as impartial advisers to school programs.[50]

DECENTRALIZATION

Because advisory groups have been unable to influence unresponsive school districts, Puerto Rican and other minority communities have in recent years demanded decentralization and community control of schools which serve their children. For Puerto Ricans, this demand has been most vehement in New York City.

In the wake of the 1968 teachers' strike in New York City, the State passed a decentralization law.[51] It established the central board of education; created the position of chancellor to replace the superintendent of schools; and established a system of 32 elected community school boards. Decisionmaking was split between the central board and the community boards, with the central board retaining much of the final authority.[52]

Community boards are comprised of, and elected by, parents who have resided in the district 1 year, are U.S. citizens, over 21 years of age, and are registered voters. Within their attendance zones, the boards have jurisdiction over elementary through eighth grade education. They appoint a community superintendent; oversee instruction of students;[53] assign, promote, and dismiss principals and teachers; prepare operating budgets; and apply for State and Federal grants.[54]

The central board determines district boundaries and conducts elections of local school board members. All high schools and special schools are centrally controlled.

The central board, the chancellor, and the board of examiners[55] have residual powers over the local districts as follows: First, local boards are limited in that personnel decisions and policies may not conflict with any collective bargaining agreement; such agreements are negotiated by the central board. Second, teachers and supervisors are selected (under a civil service system) from among those passing competitive or qualifying examinations administered by the board of examiners. Third, the central board determines minimum educational and experience requirements for teachers and supervisory personnel.[56] And, fourth, regulations concerning staff dismissals and cutbacks due to budget reductions and declining enrollments continue to be promulgated by the central board.

Decentralization is intended to open the way to greater parental involvement in operating the schools. But in New York City problems remain unsolved. For example, the central board is responsible for supplying technical aid to community boards in the preparation of project proposals to the Federal and New York State governments, but the board has been lax in this duty.[57] Problems are most acute in the design of proposals for Title I and State urban education financing and in applications for education projects under other Federal programs. In 1972, for example, community boards were given only 2 days notice to submit Title I proposals. Title VII proposals were prepared by local boards without any consultation with staff of the central board.

The benefits to date of decentralization appear mixed as far as Puerto Ricans are concerned. Recent modest increases in Puerto Rican teachers and administrators in New York City may be partially due to decentralization, but parental involvement in important school decisions remains limited.

THE GOVERNMENT'S ROLE IN THE EDUCATION OF PUERTO RICAN PUBLIC SCHOOL STUDENTS

The Federal Government has traditionally provided leadership to equalize educational opportunity for students from minority groups. Federal attention was first focused on the issue of school desegregation when several States and local school boards resisted implementation of desegregation laws. The Federal role was later extended to meet the special needs of language-minority students and to enforce laws that provide them with equal access to education.

State governments have also increasingly concerned themselves with development of special programs for disadvantaged and language-minority students.

Federal Special Aid Programs: The Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965 was the first comprehensive legislation designed to support programs for low-income students with special educational needs.[58] The act contains eight titles, three of which—Titles I, VII, and VIII—can fund programs for language-minority students.

Title I provides the bulk of ESEA funding. In fiscal year 1974, school districts received $1.6 billion to support compensatory education for low-income students. Funds are disbursed to States according to the numbers of low-income students and may be utilized for a variety of purposes, including early childhood education, reading, mathematics, ESL, and bilingual programs.

Title I has enormous potential for meeting the needs of language-minority students. In fiscal year 1971, Congress appropriated $1.8 billion under Title I, of which New York State received $192 million. Although about 23 percent of New York City's students were Puerto Rican, only $4 million (3.2 percent) of the $125 million allocated to the city went to Title I programs serving them. A total of $673,213 was spent on bilingual programs. In 1972 funding for bilingual programs increased to more than $3 million, while $503,322 was allocated for ESL programs. Approximately 14,400 students benefited from Title I language programs, the majority of whom were Hispanic.

Title I funds were also utilized to recruit and train teachers of Spanish origin. The program recruits native Spanish-speaking graduate and undergraduate students and trains them for teaching in New York schools. Nearly half of the Puerto Rican teachers now in the public school system are products of the program. Title I funds also help underwrite programs to motivate pupils who have dropped out of school.[59]

Title VII, also known as the Bilingual Education Act, funds demonstration projects to meet the special needs of low-income children who speak limited English.[60] Unlike Title I, the program could not meet the needs of all or even most needy children because of its limited funding. In fiscal year 1971, for example, proposals for Title VII funds submitted by local districts in New York City alone totaled $70 million, yet the appropriation of funds for the entire nation was only $25 million. New York State received slightly more than $1 million.[61]

Most of the projects funded by the U.S. Office of Education served Mexican American children in California and Texas. In 1971 New York received $1.2 million, California received $17.3 million, and Texas received $12.5 million.[62]

Increased Federal funding is needed for curriculum development, nationwide teacher training programs, and research into evaluation measures for bilingual education.[63] A combination of these activities and techniques, along with experience gained in demonstration programs, could increase the nation's capacity to provide quality education for all children.

Title VIII provides funds to local educational agencies for developing school dropout prevention programs. Since language difficulties are a major cause of dropouts among Puerto Ricans, Title VIII can be used to support language programs. Like Title VII, Title VIII projects are designed for demonstration purposes and support must later be assumed by the local school district. Schools qualifying for Title VIII aid may be located in urban or rural areas, must have a high percentage of low-income children, and must have a high proportion (35 percent or more) of children who do not complete their elementary or secondary education.

Funding for Title VIII has never exceeded $10 million nationwide, and thus has had little impact on the dropout problem among Puerto Ricans. Only 19 school districts had received Title VIII grants by 1972. In New York State, where the majority of mainland Puerto Ricans live, only one district, Fredonia, had received a Title VII grant.[64]

Since 1972 funds have been available for bilingual education under the Emergency School Aid Act (ESAA), a program designed to help school districts in implementing desegregation plans. In addition to a fiscal year 1974 appropriation of more than $236 million, ESAA provides $9 million as a set-aside for bilingual education programs; 47 programs have been so funded. Most were in Texas. New York received the second largest amount of bilingual set-aside funds.[65]

State Governments: School districts receive most of their financial support from their State governments. State agencies set academic standards and credential requirements, and influence policy and practice at all levels in local districts. States have fought to protect their jurisdiction over local education and therefore have major responsibility for ensuring equal educational opportunity for language-minority students. Several States have passed legislation, authorized funds, or issued policy regulations that address the needs of language-minority students.

In Massachusetts the 1971 Transitional Bilingual Education Act has involved the State and local school districts in a comprehensive program. The bill mandates that transitional bilingual education programs be implemented in each district with 20 or more children of limited English-speaking ability in one language classification.[66] It provides for supplemental financial aid to help school districts meet the extra costs of such programs.[67]

In Illinois bilingual education is supported almost exclusively by State funds. State funds for bilingual education in the 1972 – 73 school year totaled approximately $2.4 million. Public Law 78 – 727, which became effective in September 1973, mandates bilingual education by July 1, 1976, in attendance zones having 20 or more students whose first language is other than English.[68] However, Illinois school districts are making little progress to prepare for bilingual education. Efforts to recruit bilingual personnel still have not been fully undertaken. The Chicago board of education has no affirmative action plan with goals and timetables for hiring Hispanic teachers.[69]

In New Jersey, an office for Hispanic affairs in the division of curriculum and instruction at the State department of education assists in allocating State resources more effectively to meet the needs of students of Spanish origin.[70] In January 1975 the State legislature passed a compulsory bilingual education bill that requires school districts with 20 or more children of limited English-speaking ability to provide bilingual education programs.

Ironically, New York State, home of the great majority of mainland Puerto Rican students, has no law mandating bilingual education. Its "English only" law has been amended to permit 3-year programs of bilingual instruction in the public schools.[71]

In lieu of a legislative mandate for bilingual education, the Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York stated that they "believe it is the duty of the school to provide programs which capitalize on the strengths of the non-English-speaking child and his family."[72] Less commitment to the needs of language-minority children is inherently discriminatory, according to the board.

The regents directed increased use of Title I ESEA and State Urban Education funds for bilingual education and ESL programs, and defined the responsibility of local school districts in New York State as follows:

> In any case, where there are approximately 10 or more children of limited English-speaking ability who speak the same language and are of approximately the same age and level of educational attainment, every effort should be made to develop a bilingual rather than second language program.[73]

The New York State Department of Education has also established an office of bilingual education to oversee programs for non-English-speaking children. Under the auspices of that office, according to the regents, the State will actively press for adherence to the guidelines established in the May 25 memorandum of the Office for Civil Rights, HEW.[74]

In Pennsylvania, the State secretary of education directed school districts to provide bilingual education in every district having 20 or more non-English-speaking students in a language category.[75] New guidelines stipulate that basic State subsidy money must be used by the districts to teach children in their dominant language:

> ...every school district with 20 or more students whose dominant language is not English...will have to use its basic per pupil instructional subsidy plus its Title I per pupil allocation plus whatever other categorical funds are available to educate its Puerto Rican students. This means basic instruction—not just supplementary help.[76]

Moreover, the Pennsylvania education department says it will use its authority to force school districts, through the threat of fund cutoffs, to provide Puerto Rican children with an adequate education.

Although several States have demonstrated concern over the quality of education received by Puerto Rican students, school districts have claimed that they lack funds to implement new programs. Additional funds are needed to extend these programs to thousands of Puerto Rican students.[77]

School districts currently receive millions of dollars each year to educate children in their attendance zones. Per-pupil expenditures are virtually wasted on Puerto Rican and other language-minority children unless they can be redirected for compensatory language training and other special programs.

States could require, as a necessary first step, that local districts survey the language dominance of students; the achievement test scores of language-minority students; placement of language-minority students in low-ability groups or educable mentally retarded classes; and dropout rates for language-minority students. Based on such data, schools and districts could prepare operating budgets and requests for special State and Federal funds. States could also evaluate district budgets to monitor the extent to which a good faith effort is being made.

THE COURTS AND LANGUAGE-MINORITY CHILDREN

The continued unresponsiveness of school districts to the needs of language-minority students has stimulated court action. In *Lau* v. *Nichols* the Supreme Court of the United States ratified HEW guidelines contained in the May 25, 1970, memorandum known as the "May 25th Memorandum." The Court decided that:

> Basic English skills are at the very core of what these public schools teach. Imposition of a requirement that before a child

can effectively participate in the educational program, he must already have acquired those basic skills is to make a mockery of public education. We know that those who do not understand English are certain to find their classroom experiences wholly incomprehensible and in no way meaningful."[78]

The decision in *Lau* v. *Nichols* found that a monolingual educational policy does violate HEW guidelines. The Court did not rule on whether the private plaintiffs had a constitutional right to bilingual education. While finding the school district to be in noncompliance with Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the Court explicitly declined to state what an appropriate remedy for such a violation may be. As of September 1976, Federal district court in San Francisco was reviewing a master plan for bilingual-bicultural education submitted by the school district.[79]

Aspira of New York, Inc. v. *Board of Education of the City of New York*[80] was the first major case concerning equal educational opportunity for Puerto Rican children.[81] Puerto Rican students and their parents, ASPIRA of New York, Inc., and ASPIRA of America, Inc.[82] brought action against the Board of Education of New York City individually and on behalf of a class comprising an estimated 182,000 Spanish-speaking students in New York City public schools.

The suit alleged that the school system had failed either to teach Spanish-speaking children in a language that they understood, or to provide them with the English language skills needed to progress effectively in school. Plaintiffs charged they were faced with unequal treatment based on language, and thus were denied equal educational opportunity as compared with English-speaking students.

After the *Lau* decision, plaintiffs moved for a summary judgment. The court, in ruling on the motion, asked both parties to submit plans which, in their view, satisfied the mandate of *Lau* as applied to Puerto Rican and other Spanish-speaking students in New York City's public schools.[83]

Negotiations followed the submission of these plans. With the approval of the court, the parties entered into a consent decree on August 29, 1974,[84] which provided that:

1. The board of education would identify and classify those students whose English language deficiency prevents them from effectively participating in the learning process, and who can effectively participate in Spanish.

2. By September 1975, the defendants were to provide all the children described above with: (a) a program to develop their ability to speak, understand, read, and write English; (b) instruction in Spanish, in such

substantive courses as mathematics, science, and social studies; (c) a program to reinforce and develop the child's use of Spanish, including a component to introduce reading comprehension in Spanish to those children entering the school system, where an assessment of reading readiness in English indicates the need for such development. In addition to, but not at the expense of, the three central elements of the required program, entitled students were to spend maximum class time with other children to avoid isolation from their peers.

3. By the beginning of the second semester of the 1974--75 school year, the defendants were to provide all elements of the program to all children within the defined class at pilot schools designated by the chancellor. By September 1975 the program was to encompass all children within the defined class.

4. The board of education was to promulgate minimum educational standards to ensure that the program would be furnished to all children within the defined class, and ensure that the program would be provided in each of the community school districts. (On July 21, 1975, after lengthy negotiations, the minimum educational standards were issued by the chancellor.)

5. The defendants were obligated to use their maximum feasible efforts to obtain and expend the funds required to implement the program. If there are insufficient funds to implement the program, defendants were to notify plaintiffs' lawyers. (As of March 1976, they had not yet notified the Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund, Inc. that there were insufficient funds or insufficient staff.[95])

In addition to these stipulations, the consent decree included agreements regarding the use, development, and dissemination of appropriate materials and tests, and the recruitment, training, or retraining of adequate staff.

The decree also set specific timetables for completing each task. The defendants were required to consult with plaintiffs concerning the development and implementation of all items in the consent decree. The court retained jurisdiction to hear and settle disputes concerning the adequate implementation of the decree.

Implementing the Decree: The chancellor for the city school district of New York is ultimately responsible for implementing the consent decree.[96] He has set up a project management team to monitor the progress of the program and to coordinate the different divisions of the board of education.[97]

The decree required that an improved system of student identification and eligibility for the program was to be developed. A complete battery of tests was designed in the fall of 1974. This is commonly referred to as the

L.A.B. (Language Assessment Battery). The board of education agreed to use the results of that test to place children in those special classes provided for by the consent decree. The L.A.B. was administered in the spring of 1975 (the only previous test was an assessment of oral language skills in English).[89]

Not until September 1975 were procedures established to monitor adherence to the standards and to the decree.

The minimum educational standards included:

1) English language instruction;
2) Subject area instruction in the pupil's dominant language;
3) Reinforcement and development of the child's use of Spanish, including development of reading and writing skills;
4) Opportunity for spending maximum time with other pupils in order to avoid isolation and segregation from peers without diluting or abrogating the above mentioned three elements.

Forty schools (including elementary, junior high, and senior high schools) were designated as "pilot schools" to serve as models and training centers in preparation for full implementation in September 1975. Their selection was based on whether or not the schools were already implementing one or more phases of the program.[90]

An evaluation of the pilot schools was undertaken by the Community Service Society of New York.[90]

The chancellor has emphasized that, for the most part, basic city tax levy funds (rather than State or Federal funds) would be utilized to implement the consent decree. The district also receives $11 million in supplementary tax levy funds, and an increased amount is being requested by the board to help implement the decree.[91]

The city school district also receives funds from State and Federal sources, and is exploring the possibility of using some of these funds to implement the decree.

On July 11, 1975, Judge Frankel settled another dispute generated by this lawsuit, ruling that parents of Hispanic students found entitled to the program could withdraw their children. Appended to the court's memorandum and order were the forms of notice to school administrators and letters to Hispanic parents which established the opting-out procedures. As described by the court, the form letters and notice were intended to "permit opting-out while refraining from encouraging it." The form letters and notice were agreed to by counsel for the plaintiffs only after negotiations, and even then outstanding differences had to be finally resolved by the court.[92]

On September 9, 1975, the court ordered the defendants to provide certain information essential to determining the degree of compliance with the program. As of that month, there appeared to be sufficient numbers of adequately trained persons available to implement one aspect of the decree, the hiring of trained personnel. But certain schools had not yet hired staff to implement the program. On December 22, 1975, plaintiffs' lawyers moved to hold the chancellor and members of the board of education in civil contempt for failing to fully implement the decree.[93]

In his response to this report, Chancellor Anker stated that "The larger part of the effort briefly described here had taken place before the Consent Decree was signed in August of 1974. Although it is true that the impact of the decree had obviously accelerated many of these activities we certainly feel that recognition should be given to our willingness to address a major educational problem in an innovative and responsible manner."

This view conflicts considerably with that of Federal District Judge Frankel, who heard the case and approved the consent decree. In an opinion granting attorney's fees to the plaintiffs, Judge Frankel said:

> Nevertheless, however positive we may wish to be and whatever the naivete of judges, the defendants must surely recall the long and sometimes bitter times before the era of good feelings set in. This is not a subject the court desires to dwell upon now or, if possible, ever. It should be sufficient to remind everyone, without detailed documentation, that even though 18 or 20 months of struggle and a motion for summary judgment led to negotiations for a consent decree, there were bargaining sessions when the court was driven to speak as more than a "mere moderator," [citations omitted]...occasions when the Board was chided for what seemed tardy and grudging concessions, and a penultimate stage at which the Board's adversary passion led to blatant infringement of first amendment rights. To the very end, it must be said, steady and energetic pressure by plaintiffs' attorneys was required so that pertinent information and responsive proposals would be forthcoming on a reasonably prompt and orderly schedule. (Aspira of New York, Inc. v. Board of Education of the City of New York 65 F.R.D. 541,544 (S.D. N.Y. 1975)).

Although the consent decree has not yet been fully implemented, it is viewed as a vital step in achieving equal educational opportunity for Puerto Rican students in New York City's public schools, and a basis for protecting the rights of other non-English-speaking children in the city.[94]

PUERTO RICANS AND HIGHER EDUCATION

An estimated 25,000 mainland Puerto Ricans were enrolled as full-time college undergraduates in 1972.[35] This figure reflects vigorous growth in recent years. In New York City, for example, 1970 census data showed that there were only 3,500 Puerto Rican college graduates (compared with 2,500 in 1960). That year, only 1 percent of the Puerto Rican adults in New York City were college graduates, compared with 4 percent of black adults and 13 percent of white adults.

The City University of New York (CUNY) had 5,425 Puerto Rican undergraduates in 1969. By 1974 CUNY had 16,352 Puerto Rican undergraduates. This is not only a substantial leap in numerical terms, but also a sign of growing Puerto Rican participation in higher education. In 1969 Puerto Ricans at CUNY represented 4.0 percent of total enrollment; by 1974, they were 7.4 percent of the undergradutes. (See Table 35.)

In 1974 Puerto Ricans and other Hispanics (defined as Spanish-surnamed Americans) represented 13.4 percent of the first-time freshmen in the CUNY system, compared with 6.0 percent 5 years previous. (See Table 36.) Further growth of Puerto Rican college enrollment is an immediate possibility since in the 1974 – 75 school year Puerto Ricans represented 16.1 percent of all students in New York City's academic high schools (the pathway to college), and other Hispanics represented another 4.9 percent. (See Table 37.)

While there is reason for optimism, the growth trend rests on shaky foundations. Much of the increased enrollment is due to the "open enrollment" policy of the CUNY system and fluctuating levels of federally-funded financial aid and support services. The New York City fiscal crisis has profoundly affected CUNY. On June 1, 1976, Chancellor Robert Kibbee closed CUNY for 2 weeks owing to lack of funds. On June 12, the Board of Higher Education, under intense pressure from State and city officials, voted to charge tuition for the first time. The cost is $775 a year for freshman and sophomores and $925 for upperclass students. As part of the $27 million State aid package, $3 million was authorized for the educational needs of Spanish-speaking students in Hostos Community College.[36]

Figures are not yet available to ascertain how many Puerto Ricans students are dropping out due to academic or financial problems. Nor are figures available to show how many Puerto Ricans are actually graduating from college, in comparison with previous years.

In the absence of this data, the only reliable source that offers means of comparison is the limited information supplied by the 1970 census. These data show that, although more Puerto Ricans are going to college, they are much less likely to attend college than are high school graduates from

Table 35

Ethnic Composition of CUNY Undergraduates by Numbers and Percentages: Fall 1969-1974

Group	1960	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974
White	77.4% (104,974)	74.0% (117,566)	71.8% (129,232)	64.0% (125,804)	58.2% (121,887)	55.7% (123,079)
Black	14.8 (20,072)	16.9 (26,850)	19.5 (35,098)	22.4 (44,031)	25.8 (54,033)	25.6 (56,568)
Puerto Rican	4.0 (5,425)	4.8 (7,626)	5.9 (10,619)	6.9 (13,563)	7.5 (15,707)	7.4 (16,352)
Other Spanish-Surnamed American[1]	N/A	N/A	N/A	1.8 (3,538)	2.3 (4,817)	3.0 (6,629)
American Indian	0.4 (543)	0.2 (318)	0.3 (540)	0.3 (590)	0.3 (628)	0.4 (884)
Oriental	2.0 (2,713)	2.1 (3,336)	2.0 (3,600)	2.1 (4,128)	2.2 (4,607)	2.6 (5,745)
Other	1.4 (1,899)	2.0 (3,177)	0.5 (900)	2.5 (4,914)	3.7 (7,749)	5.3 (11,711)
Total	100.0% (135,626)	100.0% (158,873)	100.0% (179,989)	100.0% (196,568)	100.0% (209,428)	100.0% (220,968)

[1] The ethnic category "Other Spanish-Surnamed American" was not required by HEW until 1972.
Source: City University of New York.

Table 36

Ethnic Composition of Matriculated First-time Freshman by Numbers and Percentages, Fall 1969-1974

Group	NEW YORK STATE 1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	Estimated 1974 New York City U.S. Graduates
Black	13.9% (2,815)	17.3% (6,144)	21.3% (8,370)	21.8% (8,340)	26.9% (10,221)	28.8% (12,087)	22.2% (15,595)
Puerto Rican & Spanish-Surnamed American[1]	6.0 (1,215)	7.8 (2,769)	8.7 (3,332)	11.8 (4,514)	14.1 (5,358)	13.4 (5,624)	14.8 (10,396)
Other[2]	80.1 (16,223)	74.9 (26,598)	70.0 (27,509)	66.4 (25,402)	59.0 (22,419)	57.8 (24,259)	63.0 (44,255)
Total	100.0% (20,253)	100.0% (35,511)	100.0% (39,211)	100.0% (38,256)	100.0% (37,998)	100.0% (41,970)	100.0% (70,246)

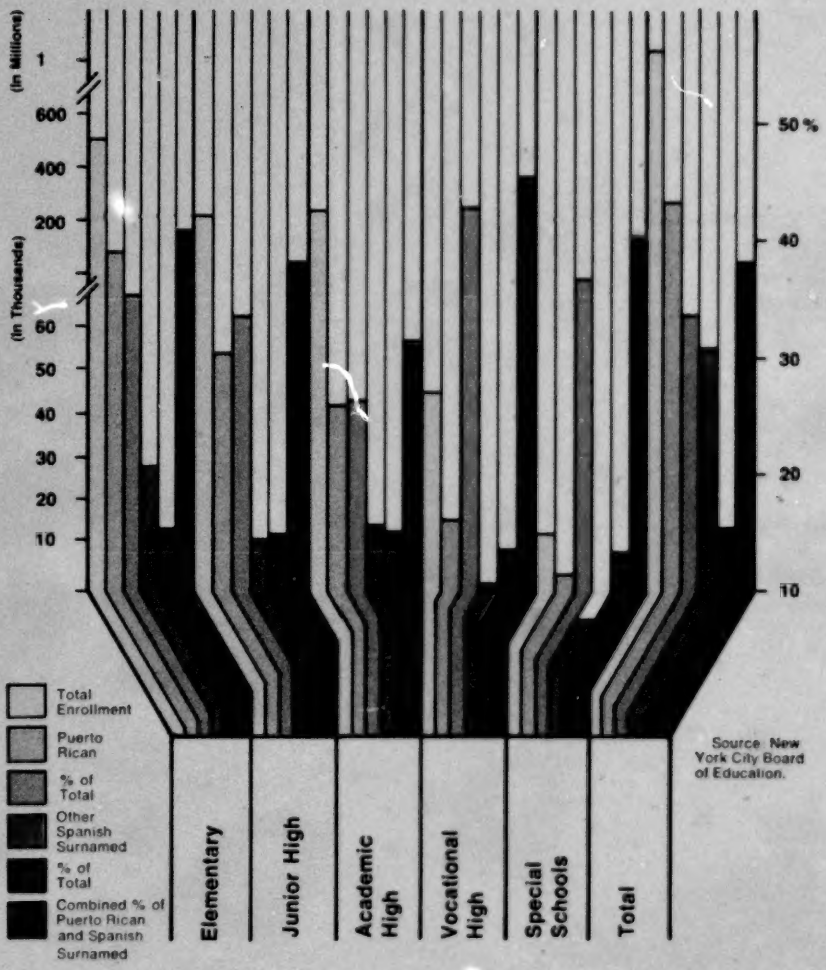
[1] Figures were derived by applying the ethnic distribution of New York City public and nonpublic 12th graders to the actual numbers of New York City graduates of public and nonpublic high schools.

[2] Includes whites, Asian Americans, Native Americans, and others.

Source: New York State Education Department, Information Center on Education.

Table 37

Total, Puerto Rican and Spanish-Surnamed Student Enrollment in New York City Public Schools, 1974-75.



other racial or ethnic groups. In 1970, 45 percent of college-age youths in the U.S. were reported to be engaged in higher education, compared with 15 to 20 percent of blacks, and only 5 percent of Puerto Ricans.[97]

Among college freshmen there has been a smaller percentage of Puerto Ricans than of blacks, Mexican Americans, Asian Americans, or Native Americans. Between 1971 and 1973, the percentage of black freshmen dropped from 8.6 to 7.6 percent, and of Puerto Rican freshmen from 0.6 to 0.4 percent.[98] At the other end of the academic spectrum, Puerto Ricans constituted only 0.01 percent of all minority group doctoral degree recipients in 1973. (Of 2,884 minority group recipients that year, only 37 were Puerto Rican, with 2 from Puerto Rico.)[99]

The limited data available, and results from Commission field research in New York, Philadelphia, Newark, and Chicago, suggest the following composite of the mainland Puerto Rican college student: The student is more likely to be male than female and from a low-income family.[100] He is the first in his family to go to college and is somewhat older than the average student, as he may have worked or completed military service prior to entering college.

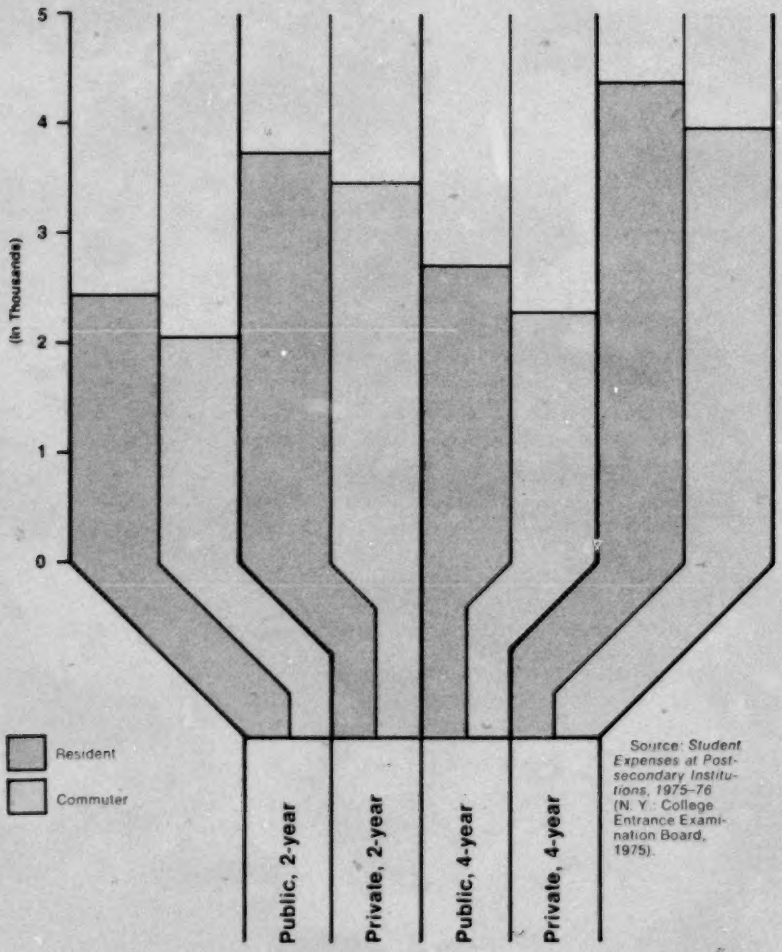
He is likely to be a first-year student at a relatively low-cost, 2-year or community college, or at a college or university with open enrollment policies. He commutes to class in an Eastern metropolitan area or in Chicago. He is receiving financial aid, probably from a variety of sources. He is majoring in the social sciences, perhaps education, Spanish, or social work, rather than the physical sciences. He is severely handicapped by earlier educational deficiencies, particularly in communication skills.

The following profile of Puerto Rican college students was offered in 1970:

> This new population in higher education comes to the university with some very special problems and concerns. They are all concerned with the fact that they are the survivors...of an educational system which has succeeded in eliminating 50 percent of their group before they completed school. They are all concerned about the extent of racism in our society.
>
> In a group with a varied racial background, sometimes white, black or, more commonly, some shade in between, they struggle with racial identity and its consequences. They are also concerned with the future status of Puerto Rico and the questions of the time—whether "Puerto Rico is a slave colony of the United States," or "A Showcase for Democracy."
>
> They enter college in a period of general disaffection with the university, its purpose and role in our society. They make increasing

Table 38

Average Total Expenses for Resident and Commuter Students at Postsecondary Institutions 1975-76



Source: *Student Expenses at Postsecondary Institutions, 1975–76* (N. Y.: College Entrance Examination Board, 1975).

> demands for courses and programs in the field of Puerto Rican studies and at the same time are anxious that their education pay off in a job which will break the bonds of poverty.[101]

The Puerto Rican student is unlikely to complete his or her education in the normal 2– 4-year period, but will drop out for a semester or more and return later. Even over the long run, the student has less than a 50 – 50 chance of graduating. If a Puerto Rican manages to survive the high dropout rate in high school, he or she then must face the steep cost of college and the difficulty of securing financial aid.[102]

Not all Puerto Rican students have access to the open enrollment City University of New York system. Even at CUNY, the cost of fees and related expenses has risen dramatically. Going to a private college is prohibitive for the majority of Puerto Rican students. (Average yearly costs for various types of colleges are shown in Table 38.)

Given the impoverished circumstances of the mainland Puerto Rican community, college costs can be met by very few Puerto Rican families, since median family income for mainland Puerto Ricans in 1974 was only $6,779. Tuition alone at Ivy League schools, which averages than $3,800 per year, is more than half the annual income of most Puerto Rican families. For the 1975 – 76 school year, fees are $387.50 per semester at Hostos Community College (part of New York's CUNY system), $11 per credit hour at Loop Community College (part of the City College of Chicago), $21 per credit hour at Essex County Community College in Newark, and $242 per semester at Philadelphia Community College. But not all needy students have access to such low-cost institutions.

Shortage of Colleges in the Cities: A shortage of colleges in large cities reduces the opportunities for Puerto Ricans and other low-income students, who can only afford to attend if they live at home.

In 1970 the Carnegie Commission found:

> ...a major deficit in two types of institutions--- community colleges and comprehensive colleges in metropolitan areas, especially those with a population over 500,000. The inner cities, in particular, are not well served. Higher education has not adequately reflected the urbanization of America. Deficits in North Jersey and the eastern side of Chicago are illustrative.[103]

Puerto Rican populations are largest in the Northeastern States and in the Chicago area, both of which were net exporters of college students in 1970. The Carnegie Commission called for 175 to 235 new community colleges in the United States by 1980, 80 to 125 of them to be located in metropolitan areas.[104] It also called for 85 to 105 new comprehensive colleges by 1980, with 60 to 70 of them in large metropolitan areas.

Another study found that nearly three-fifths of the nation's total population does not live near (within 45 minutes drive, one-way) a "free access" college, and that metropolitan residents are only somewhat better served by such colleges than those living in rural areas.[105]

All of these factors have shaped Puerto Rican perceptions about educational opportunities beyond high school. They have combined to reinforce each other, from one generation to the next, so that to the Puerto Rican junior or senior in high school, college is likely to be an alien or remote institution.

Despite this prevailing noncollege orientation, however, many low-income Puerto Rican parents will "sacrifice tremendously" to obtain for their children the highest possible degree of education. They have learned that social and economic mobility depends heavily upon academic credentials. The Puerto Rican student who graduates from high school tends to be very "hardy" and "fiercely determined to enter the mainstream of American society."[106]

Financial Barriers: While financial aid for college students is more plentiful than it was 10 years ago, Puerto Rican applicants and their parents still must shoulder a heavy share of the cost. In Illinois, for example, after Federal and State financial sources have been used, the remaining unmet need for students of Spanish origin averages $1,097, a very high percentage of family income.[107] In New Jersey, the comparable figure is $337.[108]

Several sources complain that student aid funds allocated to colleges have remained the same, or have been cut, despite enrollment increases. Only about one-third of the 55,000 students who need Federal aid at CUNY are expected to receive it in fiscal year 1976.[109]

The "red tape" involved in getting or renewing aid is often a greater problem than the availability of aid. At Hostos Community College in the Bronx, New York, staff said that "No one knows" when aid might be stopped or cut back, and, partly because some aid programs are so new, "You can't get any straight information on them."[110]

Lack of Information: Since so few mainland Puerto Ricans have attended college, important information concerning applications, forms, required statements, curricula, special programs, financial aid, and so forth may not be available from relatives or friends.

College counseling staffs are usually limited, and few have Puerto Rican or other Hispanic counselors. The City College of New York (CCNY) has only one Puerto Rican or Spanish-speaking counselor and one Puerto Rican financial aid counselor for about 1,350 Puerto Rican students.[111] Puerto Rican students frequently complain of the lack of counseling aid, both in high school and in college. It is felt, for example, that more

Hispanic counselors are needed at CUNY to reinforce the "self-image" of Puerto Rican students there. Some Puerto Ricans feel that non-Hispanic counselors tend to be more rigid and "go by the book," when more sympathetic and imaginative advice is needed.[112]

A faculty member at the University of Illinois Chicago Circle campus charges that counseling there is "poisonous." He asserts that counseling helped Puerto Ricans to survive "by teaching them tricks, pacifying them, and showing them easy courses." That is one reason, he said, why nearly three-fourths of Puerto Ricans drop out of college, leaving only a miniscule number of graduates.[113]

Puerto Ricans also lack adequate counseling with reference to graduate school opportunities. Furthermore, many counselors are unable to appreciate the "overwhelming" health and financial crises and "intense" emotional problems that face many Puerto Rican students.[114] One observer stated that counseling for Puerto Ricans in college was superior to that which they received in high school: In high school they were told not to attend college.[115]

Admission Standards and Examinations: Largely because of the poor quality of education received in city schools and the failure of educational system to meet their needs, Puerto Ricans frequently graduate from high school with low grade point averages. They also tend to score lower on college entrance examinations, such as the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT).

In 1965 the estimated median achievement test score (nonverbal, reading, math, and general information) for 12th grade Puerto Rican students was 43.1 compared with 52 for white students.[116] An official at the Educational Testing Service(ETS) which designs most college entrance tests, feels that the lack of college experience among most minority group families probably explains their lower SAT scores.[117] Thus, the "B" grade average or high SAT scores required by many colleges are beyond the reach of the typical Puerto Rican high school graduate.

At Essex County Community College in Newark, New Jersey, an estimated 85 percent of the Puerto Rican students require ESL (English as a Second Language) training.[118]

At Northeastern Illinois University, 90 percent of all Hispanic students (including Puerto Ricans) need language assistance, according to a counselor. "Most of the Latin American students here are products of the Chicago school system. Their difficulties are not always one of language, but of inadequate preparation and indifferent educational techniques," he said.[119]

A New York educator said that many Puerto Ricans (as well as other students) continue to graduate from high school ill-equipped for college

work.[120] Since Puerto Rican students often are not encouraged to follow a college preparatory program, they may not be as adept at preparing for tests or writing term papers as their white counterparts. A college may have to teach them not only subject matter, but also how to write a term paper.[121]

Tutoring and Remedial Services: Few tutors are available to assist Puerto Rican students who have difficulty with college-level work. A teacher at Essex County Community College in Newark, commenting upon teacher overload, noted that he teaches seven courses and so has no time for counseling or tutoring. Many Puerto Ricans "still cannot function" after 2 years because programs of assistance at the college are so limited and ineffective, he said.[122]

Many of the remedial courses designed to upgrade essential skills reportedly fail to achieve their purpose. At Temple University, Puerto Ricans "were thrown into a remedial English course along with other non-English-speaking minority students," and few profited, according to one observer. "They needed a Spanish-speaking teacher."[123]

Speaking of support services at the college level, a Rutgers official said that, "Kids are brought in like cattle" and then "dumped." Students tend to drift and have to counsel each other.[124]

Student Alienation: Largely because of inadequate support services, low-income students often feel like "intruders" in a traditionally white, middle-class environment.[125] Having managed to ride into college on "the coattails" of black students, Puerto Rican students are often "an anonymous entity" in affirmative action programs.[126] Receiving little attention from college staff, sometimes living away from home for the first time, noting the absence of Puerto Rican administrators, faculty, and even clerical staff, many are often "lost in the shuffle." Finding the college atmosphere "cold" and "rigid," the temptation to drop out looms large.[127]

For these reasons, Puerto Rican students at most colleges and universities have formed student unions. Unlike the traditional student union, which is primarily involved in planning dances and social events, Puerto Rican groups often perform administrative functions such as student recruiting and tend to devote themselves to key issues concerning their education. These issues include: demands for more Puerto Rican administrators, faculty, and admissions and recruitment staff; increased or continued funding for support programs for Puerto Ricans; support for or creation of Puerto Rican studies programs or departments; greater recruitment efforts aimed at Puerto Rican students in the surrounding community; the alleged channeling of Puerto Rican students into certain curricula and departments; and the steady rise in tuition costs.

Many Puerto Rican students and faculty members perceive themselves on the defensive, as objects of discrimination, fearing that the broadened access to higher education in recent years is now narrowing, and that minority programs face extinction. These views have provoked demonstrations by Puerto Rican students at City College in New York,[128] Yale,[129] the University of Illinois Chicago Circle Campus,[130] and Macalester College in Minnesota.[131] Tension and unrest over feared cutbacks in minority programs and staffs exist at other schools, such as Temple, Lehman College in New York City, and Rutgers' Livingston College.[132]

Many Puerto Rican students assume that, unless they relentlessly press college administrators, they will be neglected. A common sentiment is that the administration "distrusts the legitimacy of Puerto Rican needs and will only respond to pressure."[133] Whatever small gains have been achieved are done by the students themselves with Puerto Rican staff support. Thus, a decision to dismiss an English teacher considered especially effective in developing the writing skills of Latino students at Northeastern Illinois University was rescinded after Latino protests.[134] Macalester College announced it would not terminate its Puerto Rican program after Puerto Rican and other minority students seized an administration building to protest budget cuts in the school's minority program.[135]

The perspective from which some Puerto Rican students view college administrators and policies is shaped, at least in part, by what one faculty member termed an "anti-colonial" attitude and a strong need among many Puerto Rican youth to maintain their cultural and linguistic identity.[136] They are bitter that their language is considered detrimental and a "handicap" in college; they resist what they perceive to be the destruction of their individuality in what they see as the "melting pot" approach to higher education. They want desperately to develop skills that will enable them to live useful, rewarding lives, but they want to do so without having their values and heritage ridiculed or denied.

GOVERNMENT'S ROLE IN EDUCATION OF PUERTO RICAN UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

Federal expenditures for university student aid rose from $941 million in 1966 to an estimated $5 billion in 1972. About $3.9 billion of this amount was used to pay tuition and fees, with the remainder applied to cover living costs.[137]

The Education Amendments of 1972 extended many of the existing Federal aid programs. The amendments added a new program of basic student grants for every high school graduate who wants to continue his or

her education but lacks the resources to do so, and encouraged establishment of new planning structures at the State level to improve all forms of planning for postsecondary education.[138]

Federal financial aid for college students consists of grants, loans, and work-study funds. Most of the grant and scholarship aid given up to 1973 was provided by the Veterans Administration (VA) and the Social Security Administration (SSA).

The largest Federal student aid program was the G.I. Bill, which allows up to 36 months of full-time schooling or on-the-job training for eligible veterans and military personnel. Expenditures for the program by the VA were nearly $1.8 billion in fiscal year 1972. In the same fiscal year, the Social Security Administration provided $475.3 million in benefits to 432,863 students who were children of retired, disabled, or deceased social security beneficiaries.[139]

The principal student grant program administered by the U.S. Office of Education in fiscal year 1972 was the Education Opportunity Grant (EOG) program. Federal funds of up to $1,000 were granted to college students with "exceptional financial need." Colleges administer the program, which has varying definitions of need. The college must match each grant with other Federal or non-Federal aid. EOG grants of $210.3 million were obligated in fiscal year 1972 to participating institutions.[140]

The Basic Education Opportunity Grant (BEOG) program, created in 1972, allows low-income students even greater access to higher education. Administered by the Office of Education, BOG provides direct grants that help qualified undergraduates finance their postsecondary education.

BEOG differs from EOG in that it is an entitlement program with a standard definition of need. Both full- and part-time students are eligible for up to 5 years of study.

In fiscal year 1975, BEOG provided a maximum of $1,050 each to about 700,000 first- and second-year students.[141] When fully funded, it is to provide annual grants of up to $1,400 (minus expected family contribution) but not more than one-half the total cost of college attendance. The Carnegie Commission has estimated that 500,000 to 1 million additional students "might be induced to attend college if BOG were fully funded."[142]

The two principal Federal loan programs are the National Direct Student Loan program (NDSL, formerly the National Defense Student Loan Program) and the Guaranteed Student Loan program, authorized by the Higher Education Act of 1965.

State Aid: In fiscal year 1973, the 50 States spent an estimated $348 million for undergraduate student aid in the form of scholarships and grants, plus a substantial sum for guaranteed and direct loans, tuition

waivers and reductions, and various restricted grants to special categories of students.[143] Despite recent increases in such aid, State spending for these programs accounts for no more than 4 or 5 percent of total measurable State and local support for postsecondary education.[144] Six States—California, Illinois, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania—account for 78 percent of the total student-aid financing and 67 percent of the student recipients. Most State programs cover only tuition, or tuition and mandatory fees, but a few now provide aid primarily for disadvantaged students from low-income families and/or with marginal records of achievement.

One such program is the Educational Opportunity Fund (EOF), which aided 13,000 students (including 1,050 Puerto Ricans) at public and independent institutions in New Jersey and other States in fiscal year 1974.[145]

Under EOF in New Jersey, State funds go directly to students via grants and to institutions to maintain supportive services (tutoring, developmental courses, counseling, diagnostic testing, and full-time summer programs). Three-fourths of EOF students are from families earning less than $6,000 per year.[146] The average family income of the EOF student is $4,464, compared to $11,082 for the average New Jersey family. The average EOF grant is $817. This covers half the cost of attending a community college, and less than a third of the cost of attending a State college or Rutgers University.

Lack of data on Puerto Rican participation in both Federal and State student aid programs prevents efforts to ensure that they are in fact receiving their fair share. Some Puerto Rican educators believe that a disproportionately large share of that aid goes to Mexican American students west of the Mississippi River.[147]

Many Puerto Ricans believe that much student aid is not based on financial need. This has been confirmed in at least one study by the College Entrance Examination Board:

> A cherished myth of educators and the general public is that student financial aid today is primarily based on relative need. However, when the source and application of all aid funds (including the G.I. Bill, Social Security, athletic grants, and scholarships from restricted funds) are considered, the greater amount of student aid appears to be beyond institutional control and is commonly awarded on the basis of criteria other than need....[148]

Similarly, the Carnegie Commission pointed out that:

> Because many students from upper-income families attend institutions with tuition charges that are far below costs (true in the case of many private colleges and universities, as well as public institutions), these educational subsidies are not distributed as effectively as might be the case if minimizing the financial barrier to attendance were the primary goal. For example, of the total monetary outlays on higher education, students and their families on the average contribute about 37 percent of the total ($8.1 billion out of $22 billion in 1970 – 71).[149]

Special Admissions and Support Programs: A number of new policies and programs that focus on the needs of low-income, disadvantaged students have been established in recent years. These have permitted access to college for a significant number of Puerto Rican students.

The introduction of open admissions at the City University of New York in 1970 played a major role in increasing Puerto Rican college attendance in the system. Under this policy, admission to a college within the CUNY system was guaranteed to all New York City high school graduates. Puerto Rican undergraduate enrollment at CUNY increased from 5,425 (4 percent of total enrollment) in 1969 to 15,707 (7.5 percent) in 1973.

Other schools have also instituted open admission programs. The Temple Opportunity Program (TOP) at Temple University, *Proyecto Pa'lante* at Northeastern Illinois University, and the Equal Education Opportunity (EEO) program at Macalester College, among others, offer (to a limited number of Puerto Rican and other low-income, minority students) admission based only on indications of potential and motivation. These programs provide counseling and academic tutoring services, and help students put together financial aid packages.

One of the oldest special programs for low-income students is the College Discovery Program (CDP), created at CUNY in 1964. Its purpose was to:

> demonstrate that students who were then being excluded from college because of the existing admissions criteria could, with the proper supportive services, attain a college degree. From the beginning, it was understood that students fail not only because they are underprepared but also because they are economically disadvantaged. For this reason, stipends for books, fees and personal expenses were made available to the student as was intensive counseling, remediation and tutoring.[150]

Since 1964 CDP has expanded its enrollment from 231 students at two community colleges to well over 4,000 students in eight programs at seven community colleges. Thirty percent of CDP enrollment is Puerto Rican.[151]

Special Services for Disadvantaged Students (SSDS)[152], a Federal program created in 1965, offers remedial and other supportive services to disadvantaged students with academic potential who need such services to commence or continue higher education. Grants are made on the basis of proposals submitted by eligible applicants on a competitive basis. In 1973 – 74, Puerto Ricans numbered 3,945 of participants in SSDS. This was 5.3 percent of all participants, compared to 5 percent of participants in 1972 – 73 and 4 percent in 1971 – 72.[153]

Open admissions and special academic support programs for low-income minority students are so new that it is difficult to evaluate their effectiveness. A study at CUNY, however, found that the university has not become the "revolving door" which some had expected with the advent of open admissions, and that attrition rates under open admissions were, overall, about the same as the national average.[154]

EOF students in New Jersey "continually perform at a respectable level of achievement, and although they come to college with lower SAT scores than their regularly admitted counterparts, they quickly close the gap."[155]

As the result of help provided by *Proyecto Pa'lante* at Northeastern Illinois University, the *Proyecto* director expects as many as 60 percent of Latino students to graduate.[156]

Notes to Chapter Three

1. According to the 1970 U.S. census, among persons aged 25 years and above, whites had a median of 12.1 school years completed, blacks had 9.8 school years, and mainland Puerto Ricans had 8.7 school years.

2. Isidro Lucas, "Puerto Rican Dropouts in Chicago: Numbers and Motivations" (Manuscript, 1971), p. 23. Research conducted under grant no. OEG-5-70-0037(509) for the Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

3. Daniel Schreiber, ed., *The School Dropout* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, January 1964), pp.3, 18–19.

4. City of New York, Board of Education, *Community School Profiles, 1973–74.* According to a study undertaken for the Board of Education of the City of New York, in May 1974 there were more than 65,000 Hispanic school children with severe or moderate difficulty in English comprehension. Of this number, more than 47,000 were Puerto Rican children. The study concluded that "English language disability among pupils of Hispanic origin is substantial, encompassing about a third of Puerto Rican pupils...." See Donald Treiman, Thomas Di Prete, and Kermit Terrell, "Preliminary Report on a Survey of Educational Services for Hispanic Pupils with English Language Difficulty, Conducted in the New York City Schools, May 1974" (Center for Policy Research, mimeograph, July 1, 1974), Table 1 and p. 16.

5. Testimony of Antonio Candido Martinez in *Hearing Before the United States Commission on Civil Rights*, Hearing Held in New York, N.Y., Feb. 14 – 15, 1972, p. 43 (hereafter cited as *New York Hearing*).

6. Data are from the *Metropolitan Reading Achievement Test* (April 1968), Table H, which contains city and borough average reading scores for 2nd, 5th, and 8th grades.

7. Bureau of Educational Research, Board of Education of the City of New York, "Ranking of Schools by Reading Achievement," attachment to *amicus curiae* brief for the Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund in Lau v. Nichols, 414 U.S. 563 (1974).

8. Illinois Advisory Committee (SAC) to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Bilingual/Bicultural Education---a Privilege or a Right?* (May 1974), p. 42. (hereafter cited as *Illinois Sac Report*).

9. See testimony of Dr. Marechal-Neal Young, Associate Superintendent for Special Education, in Pennsylvania Advisory Committee (SAC) to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Transcript of Open Meeting*, June 7, 1972, vol. II, pp. 433 – 57 (hereafter cited as Pennsylvania SAC, *Transcript of Open Meeting*).

10. Testimony of Braulio Montalvo, Psychologist, Philadelphia Child Guidance Clinic, in Pennsylvania SAC, *Transcript of Open Meeting*, pp. 415 – 16.

11. Warren G. Findley and Miriam M. Bryan, *Ability Grouping: 1970 – Status, Impact, and Alternatives (University of Georgia)*, p. 25.

12. David N. Aspy, "Groping or Grouping for Teachability," *Contemporary Education*, Vol. 41, No. 6. May 1970, pp. 306 – 10.

13. U.S., Commission on Civil Rights, *Toward Quality Education for Mexican Americans*, Report VI: Mexican American Education Study (February 1974), pp. 25, 31.

14. Testimony of Joseph Monserrat in *New York Hearing*, pp. 122 – 23.

15. John R. Hodgdon, Regional Civil Rights Director, OCR/HEW, Region V, letter to Dr. Robert Krajewski, Superintendent, East Chicago Public Schools, June 9, 1972 (hereafter cited as Hodgdon Letter).

16. Pennsylvania Advisory Committee, *In Search of a Better Life---The Education and Housing Problems of Puerto Ricans in Philadelphia* (1974), pp. 23 – 6 (hereafter cited as *Pennsylvania SAC Report*).

17. "Children With English Language Difficulties," *The Fleischman Commission Report*, Part III, Vol. II, reprinted from the Fleischman Commission, *A Report of the New York State Commission on the Cost, Quality and Finance of Elementary and Secondary Schools*, 3 Vols (1972), p. 8.

18. Westry G. Horne, Chief, Elementary and Secondary Education Branch, Region II, memorandum to Dr. Lloyd Henderson, Director, Education Division, Office for Civil Rights, Apr. 30, 1973.

19. Testimony of Ewald B. Nyquist, President, University of the State of New York and Commissioner of Education, in *New York Hearing*, p. 519.

20. New England Regional Council, *Overview of the Problems Encountered by New England's Spanish-Speaking Population*, (July 7, 1970), pp. 14 – 15.

21. Adriana Gianturco and Norman Aronin, *Boston's Spanish Speaking Community: Findings of a Field Survey* (Boston, Prudential Insurance Co., 1971), p. 45. Prepared under a grant from the U.S. Department of Labor.

22. Massachusetts Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Issues of Concern to Puerto Ricans in Boston and Springfield* (February 1972), p. 9.

23. "Language-minority" children speak a non-English native language and belong to an identifiable minority group of generally low socioeconomic status.

24. Nancy Modiano, "National or Mother Language in Beginning Reading: A Comparative Study," *Research in the Teaching of English* (1968). For a thorough discussion of the ESL approach, see Mary Finocchiaro, *Teaching English as a Second Language in Elementary and Secondary Schools* (New York, 1969) and Harold B. Allen, ed., *Teaching English as a Second Language* (New York, 1965).

25. 20 U.S.C. §880(b)-1(4)(A) (Supp. IV 1974).

26. For a detailed discussion of the bilingual education approach, see Muriel Saville and Rudolph Troike, *A Handbook of Bilingual Education* (Washington, D. C., 1971) and Theodore Anderson and Mildred Boyer, *Bilingual Schooling in the United States*, Vols. I and II (Austin, Texas, January 1970).

27. Hernan LaFontaine, "Bilingual Education for Puerto Ricans: Si o No?" in *Introduction to Bilingual Education*, Bilingual-Bicultural Educational Series, ed. Luis Ortega (Anaya Las Americas: New York, 1975) (unpaged).

28. Ray C. Rist, "Student Social Class and Teacher Expectations: The Self-Fulfilling Prophecy in Ghetto Education," *Challenging the Myths: The Schools, The Blacks, and The*

Poor (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Educational Review, 1971), p. 70. See also, Clarence Senior, "Newcomers, Strangers, and Schools," in Schreiber, *The School Dropout*.

29. Ronald J. Samuda, "Racial Discrimination through Mental Testing: A Social Critic's Point of View", *IRCD* (Information Retrieval Center on the Disadvantaged) *Bulletin*, May 1973.

30. U.S., Commission on Civil Rights, Report V: Mexican American Education Study, *Teachers and Students* (March 1973), p. 43.

31. National Education Association and American Association of School Administrators, Educational Policies Commission, *Education and the Disadvantaged American*, p. 19, as cited by Clarence Senior in Schreiber, *The School Dropout*, p. 112.

32. Cities investigated by the Commission and its State Advisory Committees included Boston, Mass.; Chicago, Ill.; New York, N.Y.; Bridgeport, Conn.; Springfield, Mass.; and Philadelphia, Pa.

33. According to a recent *New York Times* article, Hispanics (Puerto Ricans and other Spanish origin groups) comprised 27.7 percent of the 1974 student population in the New York City public school system (grade and high school) while Hispanic teachers were 3.1 percent of all teachers in the school system. "Laid-Off Teachers Tell About Broken Careers," *New York Times*, June 24, 1976, p. 36M.

34. "Statistical Projection of Need for Spanish-Speaking Teachers: 50 States and 18 Leading Cities," paper presented by Samuel B. Ethridge, Director, Teacher Rights, National Education Association, before the National Bilingual Institute, Albuquerque, N.M., Nov. 30, 1973.

35. *Illinois SAC Report*, pp. 7, 13, and 15.

36. *Massachusetts SAC Report*, pp. 9 and 95.

37. *Pennsylvania SAC Report*, pp. 5 and 8.

38. Connecticut Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *El Boricua: The Puerto Rican Community in Bridgeport and New Haven* (January 1973), p. 22.

39. Ibid., p. 19.

40. New Jersey Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Transcript of Open Meeting*, Camden, N.J., July 12, 1971, p. 125.

41. Testimony of Lydia Corcino in Pennsylvania SAC, *Transcript of Open Meeting*, p. 570.

42. Candido de Leon, President, Hostos Community College, interview in New York City, N.Y., Nov. 22, 1974 (hereafter cited as De Leon Interview).

43. Mike Fucili, Counselor, Temple Opportunity Program, Temple University, interview in Philadelphia, Pa., Dec. 3, 1974. For additional comments on the negative role of some guidance counselors in the Philadelphia public school system, see the *Pennsylvania SAC Report*, pp. 11 – 13.

44. John H. Niemeyer, "Home-School Interaction in Relation to Learning in the Elementary School," in *The School Dropout*, p. 122.

45. *Massachusetts SAC Report*, p. 16.

46. *Illinois SAC Report*, p. 53.

47. Sylvia Ortega, "Some Needs of the Spanish-Speaking Child in Bridgeport, Connecticut" (West Hartford, Conn.: University of Hartford, 1970), cited in Perry Alan Zeikel, *An Evaluation of the Effectiveness of Selected Experimental Bilingual Education Programs* (1972), p. 29.

48. *Illinois SAC Report*, p. 17.

49. *Massachusetts SAC Report*, p. 17.

50. *Illinois SAC Report*, p. 52.

51. N.Y. Education Law §2590.

52. For a discussion of the Decentralization Law of 1969, see U.S., Commission on Civil Rights, *Public Education for Puerto Rican Children in New York City*, Staff Report, printed as Exhibit 5 in *New York Hearing*, pp. 305 – 319 (hereafter cited as *Staff Report: Education*).

53. This includes selection of textbooks and other educational materials, provided that materials have been approved by the chancellor.

54. *Staff Report: Education*, in *New York Hearing*, p. 317.

55. The Board of Examiners is the body which qualifies all candidates for positions in the New York City school system.

56. N.Y. Education Law §§2590-e,g,j (McKinney 1970).

57. The Board of Education of the City of New York states: "Since September 1972 there has been an Office of Bilingual Education at the Central Board which has responsibility for providing such technical assistance." Irving Anker, Chancellor of the Board of Education of the City of New York, letter to John A. Buggs, Staff Director, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, June 18, 1976, p. 4. It appears likely that the office of bilingual education was created in response to the criticisms such as those voiced at the Commission's hearing in New York City in February 1972.

58. 20 U.S.C. §236 *et seq.* (1970).

59. *Staff Report: Education* in *New York Hearing*, p. 377 – 380.

60. 20 U.S.C. §800 (b) *et seq.* (Supp. IV 1974).

61. *Staff Report: Education* in *New York Hearing*, p. 379. According to Hernan LaFontaine, executive administrator of the Office of Bilingual Education, New York City Board of Education, $4 million were received by the city for Title VII programs for the school year 1973 – 74. See Hernan LaFontaine, "Introduction to Bilingual Education," in *Urban, Social, and Educational Issues*, eds. Dr. L. Golubchick and Dr. B. Persky (Kendall Hunt: Dubuque, Iowa, 1974), p. 26.

62. *Staff Report: Education*, pp. 380, 382.

63. See Statement of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights on Bilingual Bicultural Education before the General Education Subcommittee of the House Education and Labor Committee, Apr. 17, 1974. The Commission strongly supported the extension and expansion of Title VII, with increased appropriations for research, teacher training, and curriculum development. The Commission supported similar measures before the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Oct. 31, 1973.

64. *Staff Report: Education* in *New York Hearing*, p. 383 – 384.

65. Larry Kaseman, staff member, Bureau of Equal Educational Opportunities, U.S. Office of Education, HEW, interview in Washington, D.C., July 8, 1974.

66. In these programs, national origin minority children are grouped in transitional classrooms away from the regular classes in a school. This separation can last up to 3 years.

67. The Commonwealth of Massachusetts General Laws, Chapter 71A. 1971.

68. *Illinois SAC Report*, p. 64.

69. Ibid., p. 66.

70. Diego Castellanos, *Perspective, The Hispanic Experience in New Jersey Schools*, New Jersey State Department of Education, (January 1972), p. 8.

71. However, "The New York State law actually permits six years of bilingual instruction if the local school administrators apply for approval of three years beyond the initial three year period." Irving Anker, Chancellor of the Board of Education of the City of New York, letter to John A. Buggs, Staff Director, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, June 18, 1976.

72. "Bilingual Education, A Statement of Policy and Proposed Action by the Regents of the University of the State of New York" (1972), p. 10. The Regents of the University of the State of New York is the policymaking body for the State educational system.

73. Ibid., p. 7.

74. Ibid., p. 11.

75. School Administrator's Memorandum 491 of Mar. 10, 1972, cited in *Pennsylvania SAC Report*, p. 21.

76. Ibid., p. 22.

77. Statement of Ewald B. Nyquist, President, University of the State of New York and Commissioner of Education in *New York Hearing*, p. 521. In Chicago, more than 60 percent of the 40,800 students who spoke Spanish as a first language received no special English language assistance. Only 4,000 received any form of bilingual-bicultural instruction. Another 12,000 are estimated to be enrolled in ESL programs. (*Illinois SAC Report*, pp. 46 – 47).

78. 414 U.S. 563, 566 (1974).

79. Paul Berdue, attorney, San Francisco Neighborhood Legal Aid Foundation, Chinatown office, telephone interview, Sept. 3, 1976.

80. Aspira of New York, Inc. v. Board of Education of the City of New York, 72, Civ. 4002 (S.D. N.Y., Sept. 20, 1972).

81. This chapter was submitted to the Board of Education of the City of New York for review and comment prior to publication. See letter from Chancellor Anker to John A. Buggs, Staff Director, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, June 18, 1976.

82. ASPIRA of America, founded in New York City in 1961, is an educational nonprofit organization which provides counseling and leadership development programs for Puerto Rican youth. Funded by Federal and State governments and by various private foundations and corporations, ASPIRA has affiliates in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, New York, Illinois, and Puerto Rico.

83. A motion to dismiss the complaint had been filed by defendants on November 15, 1972. On January 23, 1973, the court denied that motion in all respects, and the defendants filed an answer to the complaint on February 9, 1973. After lengthy pretrial discovery, plaintiffs in February 1974 moved for summary judgment, asking the court to render a decision on whether a violation of law existed, without a trial of disputed facts. The defendants opposed summary judgment, stating that adequate supportive services were being provided to plaintiffs. Plaintiffs argued that, in actuality, there were students not receiving services. (See "History of Bilingual Suit," Aspira of New York, Inc., pp. 1 – 3.)

84. Consent Decree at 2, Aspira v. Board of Education, 72 Civ. 4002 (Aug. 29, 1974). By consenting to the entry of the decree, plaintiffs did not waive any rights they have under the 14th amendment, and defendants did not admit to having committed any violations.

85. Richard J. Hiller, staff attorney, Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund, Inc., interview in New York, N.Y., Mar. 3, 1976 (hereafter cited as Hiller Interview).

86. Dr. Murray Hart, Superintendent, Board of Education of the City of New York, interview in New York City, N.Y., Dec. 11, 1974 (hereafter cited as Hart Interview).

87. Dr. Michael Costelloe, Director, Project Management Team, Office of the Chancellor, Board of Education of the City of New York, interview, Dec. 11, 1974 (hereinafter cited as Costelloe Interview).

88. The L.A.B. has been the subject of some dispute between the parties, and was eventually brought before the court for consideration. See 394 F. Supp. 1161 (S.D.N.Y. 1975). The court ruled that the English L.A.B. was to be administered to all Hispanic students. Those who fell within the bottom 20th percentile were to be given the Spanish L.A.B. Those who scored better in Spanish than in English were members of the class, and were entitled to the program.

89. Marco Hernandez, Assistant Director, Office of Bilingual Education, Board of Education for the City of New York, interview, Dec. 10, 1974 (hereafter cited as Hernandez Interview).

90. Community Service Society of New York, *Report on Bilingual Education: A Study of Programs for Pupils With English-Language Difficulty in New York City* (June 1974).

91. In addition to its basic per capita allowance from tax levy funds, the district receives supplementary tax levy funds, for funding special programs. The basic tax levy funds are city funds allocated to the school districts on a formula basis. They amount to the per capita allocations which are disbursed to the districts.

92. Hiller Interview.

93. Ibid. The Board of Education commented that "in fairness it should be made clear that the Board of Education is more than 90% in compliance with the Consent Decree. This is a remarkable achievement considering the fact that more than 60,000 eligible children had to be identified, tested, and programmed." See letter from Chancellor Anker to John A. Buggs, Staff Director, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, June 18, 1976.

94. Victor Marrero, Chairman of the Board, and Herbert Teitelbaum, Legal Director, Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund, Inc., Press Release, Aug. 29, 1974, p. 2.

95. This figure was reached by estimating the percentage of Puerto Ricans included in the Spanish-surnamed total enrollment in several States for fall 1972 (from HEW's Racial and Ethnic Enrollment Report). The percentages of total Puerto Rican student enrollment (85 percent in New York and Connecticut, 90 percent in New Jersey, 45 percent in Illinois) were based on estimates by HEW, Aspira, and various higher education officials in the different States.

96. See *New York Times*, June 13, 1976.

97. Hearings before the Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity for the U.S. Senate, 91st Congress, Part 8, *Equal Opportunity for Puerto Rican Children* (November 1970), p. 3796.

98. American Council on Education, *The American Freshman: National Norms*, reports for fall 1972 and 1973 (Washington, D.C.).

99. National Academy of Sciences, Commission on Human Resources, *Summary Report 1973: Doctorate Recipients from United States Universities* (Washington, D.C., May 1974), p. 4.

100. Of 337 students placed in college by ASPIRA of Illinois in 1972 – 73, half came from families receiving public assistance, and the remainder from families earning less than $7,000. ASPIRA of America *Annual Report*, 1972 – 73 (New York), p. 23.

101. Statement of Louis Nuñez, ASPIRA of America, in Senate Hearings on *Equal Education Opportunity for Puerto Rican Children*, p. 3796.

102. Elizbeth W. Suchar, Stephen H. Ivens, and Edmund C. Jacobson, *Student Expenses at Postsecondary Institutions, 1975 – 76* (New York: College Entrance Examination Board, 1975), p. 41.

103. The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education recommended that 29 to 41 new community colleges and 19 to 26 comprehensive colleges be established in the major cities of the eight States with largest Puerto Rican population: New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Illinois, Connecticut, California, and Florida. See *New Students and New Places: Policies for the Future Growth and Development of American Higher Education* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1971), pp. 142 – 44.

104. "Free access" higher education is defined to include "low cost, admission of 'the majority' of high school graduates, and an absence of geographical and pyschological barriers." (College Entrance Examination Board, *Barriers to Higher Education* (New York, 1971), p. 11.

105. De Leon Interview.

106. Isidro Lucas, Chicago Regional Office, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, interview, Nov. 19, 1974 (hereafter cited as Lucas Interview).

107. Illinois State Scholarship Commission (1974).

108. New Jersey Department of Higher Education, *The Educational Opportunity Fund, Fourth Annual Report*, 1973 – 74 (Trenton, N.J.).

109. Pat O' Reilly, Office of Student Financial Aid, CUNY, New York City, telephone interview, Jan. 14, 1975.

110. De Leon Interview.

111. Yolanda Sanchez, Office of the President, City College of New York, telephone interview, Jan. 10, 1975 (hereafter cited as Sanchez Interview).

112. Frank Negron, Director of Affirmative Action Program, CUNY, interview in New York City, N.Y., Nov. 26, 1974.

113. James Blout, Geography Department, telephone interview, Nov. 20, 1974.

114. De Leon Interview, and Estella McDonnell, Aspira of New Jersey, interview , Nov. 26, 1974.

115. Aleda Santana, counselor, City College "Seek" Program, New York City, telephone interview, Jan. 16, 1975.

116. U.S., Department of Health, Education and Welfare, *Digest of Educational Statistics*, 1971, p. 137.

117. Bob Smith, ETS, Princeton, N.J., telephone interview, Dec. 12, 1974.

118. Jerry Lieberman, Department of Behavioral Science, Essex County Community College, interview in Newark, N.J., Nov.26, 1974 (hereafter cited as Lieberman Interview).

119. Maximino Torres, Proyecto Pa'lante Director, Northeastern Illinois University, Chicago, interview, Nov. 19, 1974 (hereafter cited as Torres Interview).

120. Carmen Puigdollers, Puerto Rican Studies Department, Lehman College, New York City, interview, Jan. 13, 1974 (hereafter cited as Puigdollers Interview).

121. Samuel Betances, Political Science Department, Northeastern Illinois University, interview in Chicago, Ill., Nov. 19,1974 (hereafter cited as Betances interview).

122. Lieberman Interview.

123. Russell Daniel, former director, Student Resource Center, Temple University, interview in Philadelphia, Pa., Dec. 3, 1974.

124. Maria Blake, Department of Community Education, Newark-Rutgers University, N.J., interview, Nov. 26, 1974.

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An Uncertain Future

The Puerto Rican migration to the mainland has been unique. It is the only massive migratory movement to the United States mainland of American citizens. These Americans are generally distinct in language and culture and have different customs. Many have been totally unprepared for "big city" life in the United States, where they found that some of their fellow citizens viewed these differences, along with the matter of color, as more important than their citizenship or hopes.

In the last decade the Federal Government began numerous programs to eliminate poverty. The defects of these programs—particularly inadequate funding—affect all minority and poor Americans. One crucial deficiency, however, has apparently caused many of the programs to fail Puerto Ricans: Those who designed and implemented the programs lacked, almost entirely, an awareness of the Puerto Rican community, its cultural and linguistic identity, and its critical problems. It might be said that much of the indifference and insensitivity characterizing United States-Puerto Rico relations has carried over into the relations between the majority group and Puerto Ricans on the mainland.

Ignorance of Puerto Ricans has fed a pervasive failure of government institutions to help these citizens. Their problems have not been identified with specificity, causing job training and other programs to operate in vacuums. In some cases, the data the programs are based on are so inadequate that those who should be targets for help, such as Puerto Ricans, have been shortchanged.

The Commission heard innumerable complaints about the failure of programs administered by local governments to involve the Puerto Rican community in decisionmaking, either through citizen advisory methods or by employment of Puerto Ricans in policymaking jobs. The same critical underutilization of Puerto Ricans exists at the Federal level. There are very few Puerto Ricans in policymaking positions in the Federal Government. Official insensitivity, coupled with private and public acts of discrimination, has assured that Puerto Ricans often are last in line for the benefits and opportunities made available by the social and civil rights legislation of the last decade.

The Commission found numerous examples of Puerto Rican organizations working to solve their problems on the mainland, such as Aspira, the Puerto Rican Community Development Project, the Puerto Rican Legal Defense Fund, the National Puerto Rican Forum, and many local agencies, such as the Hunts Point Multi-Service Center in New York. Drawing upon consistently inadequate aid from public and private

sources, these agencies have made a valiant effort to fill the gap in services. This effort to develop institutions identified as Puerto Rican and offering needed services is one of the more hopeful signs for the community.

However, this hopeful development should be contrasted with the fiscal and economic crisis in New York City. The fact still remains that the majority of Puerto Ricans in the United States still reside in New York and that the future health of the city is inextricably bound to the development of the mainland Puerto Rican community.

The Commission's overall conclusion is that mainland Puerto Ricans generally continue mired in the poverty facing first generations of all immigrant or migrant groups. Expectations were that succeeding generations of mainland Puerto Ricans would have achieved upward mobility. One generation later, the essential fact of poverty remains little changed. Indeed, the economic situation of the mainland Puerto Ricans has worsened over the last decade.

The United States has never before had a large migration of citizens from offshore, distinct in culture and language and also facing the problem of color prejudice. After 30 years of significant migration, contrary to conventional wisdom that once Puerto Ricans learned the language the second generation would move into the mainstream of American society, the future of this distinct community in the United States is still to be determined.

Findings and Recommendations

1. *Based on such key indices as income, education, unemployment, and incidence of poverty, Puerto Ricans on the United States mainland are a severely disadvantaged minority group.*

RECOMMENDATION No. 1:

The Federal Government should officially recognize that Puerto Ricans are a minority group whose problems require specific forms of aid. Therefore, the President should assign the Director of the Domestic Council to coordinate interagency research, planning, and action to improve the effectiveness of Federal and federally-assisted programs designed to aid Puerto Ricans.

a. The Director should oversee implementation of the recommendations made in this report and others to be developed in the course of a special review.

b. Liaison should be established on a systematic basis among the Domestic Council, the Office of Management and Budget (OMB), and personal representatives of the Governors of States with cities having an estimated Puerto Rican population of 5 percent or more (hereafter referred to as "target States"), as well as the mayors of those cities (hereafter referred to as "target cities").

2. *One obstacle to the effective implementation of government action to aid Puerto Ricans is the lack of reliable, continuous socioeconomic data. The paucity and lack of uniformity of available data makes it difficult to focus adequately on key problem areas, and to measure progress in the solution or alleviation of problems. The scarcity of comparable data makes it difficult, if not impossible, to measure the cost effectiveness of government expenditures designed to improve the living standards of Puerto Ricans.*

RECOMMENDATION No. 2:

The Federal Government should obtain, and make available, current, reliable data on the mainland Puerto Rican population.

a. The Bureau of the Census should substantially revise its methods of collecting data on Puerto Ricans by:

(1) Collecting such data in all census forms, rather than limiting such data collection to a 5 percent sample;

(2) Standardizing the definition of "Puerto Rican" by using the most inclusive one available, which is "Puerto Rican origin";

(3) Identifying and eliminating factors that resulted in the 1970 census undercount (see the Commission's *Counting the Forgotten: The 1970 Census Count of Persons of Spanish-Speaking Background in the United States*, April 1974);

(4) Conducting periodic, special population surveys in target States and cities to update socioeconomic data on Puerto Ricans.

b. The Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) should improve its data collection on Puerto Rican employment conditions by:

(1) undertaking studies in target cities, similar to those conducted by the BLS Middle Atlantic regional office in poverty areas of New York City (these are cited in the Bibliography);

(2) rectifying inadequacies by such means as those proposed in the Middle Atlantic regional BLS office report, *A Program for Developing Social and Economic Data on the Population of New York City and Area from the Current Population Survey and Other Sources.*

c. Accurate, current data on the education problems of Puerto Ricans should be collected by Federal, State, and local government agencies:

(1) The Office for Civil Rights (OCR) of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) should collect separate data on Puerto Rican students, faculty, and staff at all educational levels through all reporting forms submitted by school districts;

(2) State education agencies should also require submission of data on Puerto Rican dropout rates and rates of inclusion in low-ability groups and classes for the educable mentally retarded. These data should be compared with operating budgets and requests by local districts for additional funding;

(3) The U.S. Office of Education (OE), the Veterans Administration, the Social Security Administration, and State education agencies should collect data on Puerto Rican participation in all student financial aid programs.

(4) Boards of education in target cities should collect and publish data that show a racial-ethnic breakdown of students in their schools.

d. The Office of Management and Budget, which has oversight responsibilities for Federal statistical procedures, should develop and enforce a Federal policy for the uniform collection and use of racial-ethnic data in Federal and federally-assisted programs to determine if such programs reach intended beneficiaries on an equitable basis. Such a data collection system should provide for the collection of data on Puerto Ricans, who should be enumerated on the basis of self-identification. (Other recommendations related to this proposal were included in the

Commission's report, *To Know or Not to Know: Collection and Use of Racial and Ethnic Data in Federal Assistance Programs* (February 1973) and should also be implemented by OMB.)

3. *The poor, deteriorating position of Puerto Ricans in terms of jobs and income is due to a combination of factors: Many Puerto Ricans of working age are limited, by lack of skills and inability to communicate in English, to jobs in light manufacturing, an industry that is in a state of decline in the areas where they live; others who seek, and are qualified for, jobs in more rewarding types of work are victims of discrimination, both on an individual and institutional basis, and in both the private and public sectors. Federal efforts to improve job opportunities (such as employment training programs) have reached relatively few Puerto Ricans, largely due to lack of adequate funding and the lack of bilingual instruction services. Federal enforcement of civil rights laws has been hampered by inadequate guidelines, insufficient compliance monitoring, and lack of interagency coordination.*

RECOMMENDATION No. 3:

The Federal Government should intensify its efforts to improve employment opportunities for Puerto Ricans:

a. Congress should increase Federal appropriations for employment training under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA).

b. The Department of Labor's Employment and Training Administration should promptly establish guidelines for Title III bilingual training programs. The Employment and Training Administration should:

(1) Ensure that, in addition to the standardized skill training, a language component is available in job training programs in target cities;

(2) Institute an affirmative action program at United States Employment Service offices in target cities to increase Puerto Rican and other Spanish-origin staff to a level comparable to the percentages of Puerto Ricans served by the USES offices;

(3) Identify those training programs in target cities that have low Puerto Rican participation or completion rates and determine how they can recruit and graduate more Puerto Rican workers.

c. The Civil Service Commission should promptly eliminate discriminatory barriers to Puerto Ricans who seek public employment by:

(1) Reviewing, together with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), the Equal Employment Opportunity Coordinating Council (EEOCC), and independent experts on validation of selection standards, all Federal selection procedures that have an adverse

impact on Puerto Ricans and other Hispanic minorities. The purpose would be to determine whether the standards applied for hiring, placement, and promotion are job related and free of cultural bias. For example, the PACE and other civil service examinations should be immediately validated according to EEOC guidelines for employment selection procedures;

(2) Requiring State and local governments that participate in the Federal Intergovernmental Personnel Program to follow the employee selection standards developed by EEOC;

(3) Adopting rules that permit State and local governments participating in the Federal Intergovernmental Personnel Program to make race, ethnicity, and sex a criterion of selection when hiring or promoting, if qualified, individuals in accordance with affirmative action plans that are designed to eliminate underutilization of Puerto Ricans, other minorities, and women;

(4) Examining the degree of Puerto Rican participation in the Federal "Upward Mobility" program;

(5) Collecting separate data on Puerto Ricans in all its reporting programs in target States and cities.

d. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission should be more aggressive in its efforts to encourage State and local government "affirmative action" hiring of Puerto Ricans by:

(1) Collecting separate data on Puerto Ricans in all reporting forms submitted by employers and unions;

(2) Holding public hearings in major target cities to investigate barriers that cause low Puerto Rican participation in State and local civil service employment;

(3) Assigning the Office of Voluntary Programs to work with State and local governments to eliminate such barriers; and

(4) Filing Commissioner charges in those target States or cities where recruitment and employment of Puerto Ricans is clearly inadequate.

4. *The median educational level for Puerto Ricans on the United States mainland is lower than that of the general population and other minorities except Native Americans. Linguistic and cultural barriers, as well as discrimination, contribute to a high dropout rate of Puerto Ricans from public schools and colleges. The lack of adequate bilingual-bicultural personnel and curriculum materials has been a major factor in generally poor academic achievement by Puerto Rican students. There is discrimination against Puerto Ricans in various school districts by teachers, counselors, and other school personnel. Poor communication*

between schools and parents of Puerto Rican children tends to exclude parents from important school activities. Few school districts collect and make available data on Puerto Rican student enrollment, dropout rates, or teaching and administrative personnel. Federal and State Governments have been deficient in ensuring equal educational opportunity for Puerto Rican students.

RECOMMENDATION No. 4:

a. Bilingual-bicultural instruction should be provided in all school districts with significant enrollments of Puerto Rican or other language-minority children. Target States which do not have bilingual education statutes should adopt compulsory bilingual-bicultural education laws and should adequately fund such programs. These States should develop program standards and monitoring mechanisms to enforce the standards.

b. Prior to approving operating budgets for school districts, or for supplemental Federal or State grants, State education agencies should determine the extent to which per-pupil operating costs are meeting the needs of Puerto Rican and other language-minority students.

c. OCR, in its annual school surveys, should direct States to ensure that school districts utilize operating funds, as well as special program funds, to meet the needs of Puerto Rican and other language-minority students.

d. Congress should substantially increase funding of Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) to support bilingual teacher training, curriculum development, and evaluation instrument development. Funds appropriated under other legislation, such as the Emergency School Aid Act (ESAA), which have been earmarked as a set-aside for bilingual education, should also be increased.

e. HEW should develop guidelines that clearly identify the responsibilities of federally-aided school districts, State education agencies, and nonpublic schools, under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. HEW should also:

(1) Increase its compliance reviews of school districts and college campuses with significant Puerto Rican enrollments and/or with significant nearby Puerto Rican populations;

(2) Include in its reviews of school districts an analysis of the extent to which Puerto Ricans attend segregated or ethnically isolated schools;

(3) Implement all the recommendations in the Commission's report, *The Federal Civil Rights Enforcement Effort—1974*, Vol. III, *To Ensure Equal Educational Opportunity*, January 1975.

years has been one of return migration to Puerto Rico) thousands of newcomers from Puerto Rico settle on the mainland each year. These newcomers suffer particularly acute problems of linguistic and cultural adjustment, which result in lower income and higher unemployment in comparison with Puerto Ricans who are long-term residents of the mainland, or mainland-born persons of Puerto Rican origin.

RECOMMENDATION No. 5:

The Director of the Domestic Council should create an advisory body that includes top-level representation from the Government of Puerto Rico and target States and cities on the mainland. This advisory body should be consulted on such important matters as:

a. Improved monitoring of migration between Puerto Rico and the U.S. mainland;

b. Improved processing and translation of school, employment, and other records, such as professional degrees and certificates earned in Puerto Rico, and improved mechanisms to grant equivalency credits for school and professional experience; and

c. The establishment of federally-funded information centers in target cities that would be staffed by bilingual personnel who can assist Puerto Ricans in adjusting to their new environment by offering information, direct social services, and referrals to existing services.

f. The National Institute of Education (NIE) should provide research for the development of curriculum materials and evaluation instruments for Puerto Rican and other language-minority students. Also, OE and target States should utilize the resources of higher education institutions in target cities to improve teacher training and counseling in school districts that have substantial Puerto Rican enrollment.

g. Local school districts in target cities should develop affirmative action plans to strike a more equitable balance between levels of Puerto Rican student enrollment and the numbers of Puerto Rican faculty.

h. Schools should consult with Spanish-origin psychologists and staff prior to placing Puerto Rican students in classes for the educable mentally retarded. Ability grouping should be utilized only in cases where it is the sole means of providing special, individualized attention.

i. School districts should ensure that Puerto Ricans parents are involved in school activities, including teacher selection and textbook selection and review. All school notices should be provided in Spanish for Puerto Rican and other Spanish origin parents.

j. To minimize financial barriers to higher education, Congress should:

(1) appropriate full funding for State Student Incentive matching grants;

(2) provide full funding for the Basic Education Opportunity Grant (BEOG) program in fiscal year 1978;

(3) increase the BEOG maximum award, consistent with recent increases in student expenses; and

(4) raise the ceiling on awards to actual costs, at least for lower division students.

k. The Office of Education should seek increased Federal cost-of-instruction aid for higher education institutions.

l. The States should provide better access to college for Puerto Rican and other minority students by:

(1) graduating tuition rates at 4-year institutions, with lower rates for lower division students;

(2) providing direct aid to private colleges and universities to permit reduced tuition costs;

(3) seeking to maintain a policy of low, or no, tuition at 2-year community colleges; and

(4) supplementing Federal aid with increased financial aid for low-income students.

5. *Although the level of net migration from Puerto Rico to the U.S. mainland has decreased in recent years (the net trend during the past few*

Selected Bibliography

Following is a selected bibliography of books and reports that will offer useful background to the reader. Many of these publications provide extensive bibliographic information for those who wish to make a more exhaustive study of the topic.

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